# COMMUNISTS AND THE FRENCH COMMITTEE

*A cable from Algiers by* **FLORIMOND BONTE**


# NEW MASSES

*April 25, 1944* *15¢* *In Canada 20¢*


# LABOR CRUSADES FOR '44

***Why the GOP fears the Political Action Committees—by JOSEPH NORTH***

# THE BATTLE OF OHIO

***The lineup for November. First of a midwestern series—by BRUCE MINTON***

## REBIRTH IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

***by PAUL KUDRNA***

## THE MIGHTY HORMONES

***by WILLIAM RUDD***

**ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: Lightning in the Crimea, *by Colonel T.*; Focus on Reconversion, *by Virginia Gardner*; Literature Down Under, *by George Farwell***


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# WARNING!

OUR business office informs us that $8,000—above and beyond our normal operating income—must be raised between now and May 15—approximately three weeks hence. The most pressing of our bills have come due: we had hoped to meet our creditors' demands easily this year, thinking that our financial drive would proceed at a faster tempo than last year.

Last year, by this time, $17,000 had come in. This year, not quite $14,000. So the creditors are at the doors.

Furthermore: this past week our printer raised his bill by fifteen percent; our paper company—by approximately five percent.

These are hard facts having to do with hard, cold cash. So . . . by May 14, we must raise $8,000—come hell or high water.

That's the score, readers and friends of **New Masses.** We hate to put it so bluntly, but it's a time for plain speaking. You wouldn't want us to soften the truth.

**WHAT'S YOUR ANSWER?**

NEW MASSES
104 E. 9th St.
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Friends:

Here is my answer to your appeal this week.

MY NAME .....

Address .....

City .....

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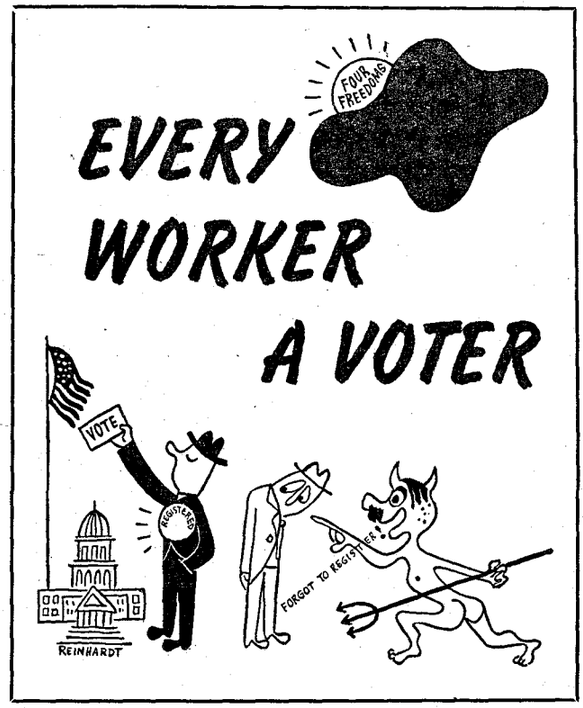


Cover from CIO Political Action pamphlet

# LABOR CRUSADES FOR '44

## By JOSEPH NORTH

*Tough-minded sailors they were, on shore leave after a typical journey across the Pacific threading their way through the sea lanes where Jap subs lay in packs. I spoke with them in San Francisco some weeks ago while on a transcontinental tour. They had no sooner come to union headquarters than they were coralled by members of the Auxiliary, who exhorted them to come along and help the farmers some score of miles out of town to gather crops which might rot for want of farm labor. The seamen looked at one another. Many, you might venture, had other plans for their brief stay ashore. They exchanged glances, nodded, and off they went, climbing into the foregathered trucks. When they returned, one of them described for me the last farmer they had helped, who stood in the doorway, evidently moved, waving them goodbye. "He told me he used to despise the unions," a young steward said, "but he's got another think coming to him now." I asked the sailor why he had gone on the fruit-picking expedition. He shrugged his shoulders: "We got an earful about labor political action last time we were in port," he said. "First comes labor unity, then comes unity with labor's allies: the Negroes, the farmers. . . ." He grinned. "We used to call farmers 'scissor-bills.' You can't win an election that way," he said.*

*Typical? Not yet—but a straw in the wind. . . .*

PAC: You may as well get acquainted with those three initials today, for you will be hearing a lot about them as the weeks roar on toward November. As a matter of fact they are no mystery at this writing: some five and a half millions in the Congress of Industrial Organizations know their meaning well. So do millions in the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods. So do many circles outside labor. I don't pretend to Dunninger's psychic talents, but I'll wager the price of a poll tax that I can read the minds of men like Martin Dies, Herbert Hoover, Thomas Dewey, John L. Lewis, and David Dubinsky: tucked away in their frontal lobes are those initials. And I know the reasons, which are discernible to any observer of the political scene.

Those letters stand for the Political Action Committees initiated by the CIO. Nothing mystic, I'll submit, and eminently workaday. Yet to many they are freighted with connotations of vast significance. Their implications may yet be that well-known cloud on the horizon which is no bigger than a man's hand (a hand, say, the size of Franklin D. Roosevelt's) but the aforementioned politicos sense that that cloud is rolling up faster than Dewey can say "states' rights." And they are canny if they keep the political storm cellars open.

In those initials lies a story every voter should know. Frankly, far from enough do—considering that there are 80,000,000 potential voters—and that's cause for concern. They will not, at this juncture, get much of the story in the commercial press with its infinite talent for concealing the source-streams of history. They will, I wager, hear more about it in the coming days. New York's talking about it as this is being written: labor political action acquired plenty of meaning in all circles as the returns came in on the American Labor Party primaries. Though these returns show what can be done if labor bestirs itself, there is still much to be done, both in the state where a Hoover Republican is Governor, and throughout the nation. Time presses—the stakes are higher than ever before—the war approaches a climax as Europe's invasion nears and demands maximum effort and support at home. Complacency is fatal.

THE story really begins here: seven brief years ago organized American labor numbered some four millions; today its army has reached the unprecedented total of fourteen millions. Labor is on the march. I cannot fully agree with Carl Sandburg's moving verse:

> *In the darkness with a great bundle of grief the people march.*
> *In the night, and overhead a shovel of stars for keeps, the people march:*
> *"Where to? what next?"*

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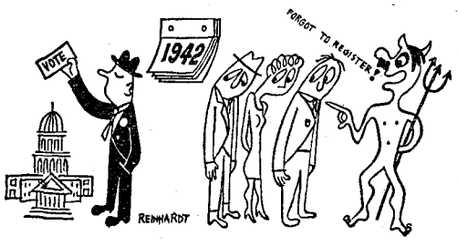
The people march, not [illegible]t, but they march with a clearer perception of their goals than at any time in America's history. The poet's troubled questions "Where to? what next?" are *becoming*




rhetorical. The answer is *being* found. I put all that in the progressive tense, for the reality has not yet been established. But I believe it is in process of establishment: it can be, and it must. But, it hasn't *yet*. That's important to realize. For the powerful enemy within our gates is girded for his supreme effort: to batter him down will require every vestige of strength and craft democracy's partisans can summon.

It struck me most forcibly when, several months ago at a CIO public meeting in San Francisco, I heard Leo Kryzcki, speaking for Sidney Hillman, say: "We must crusade for political action today as a few years ago we crusaded for industrial unionism." It had been said before, in a full convention of his organization. The Sixth Annual Convention of the CIO resolved:

> Our program has met and will continue to meet with bitter opposition from the forces of reaction. These forces are motivated by an undying hostility to organized labor, whose power and influence they seek to destroy, and by a deep-seated hatred of President Roosevelt.

This led them to the conclusion:

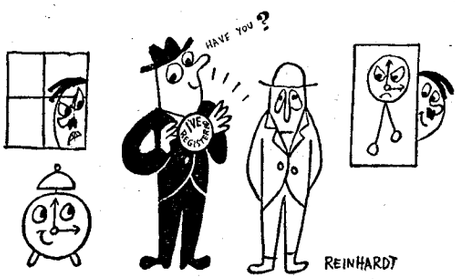
> We cannot rely on a hasty mobilization of forces to intervene in each legislative crisis as it arises. The organization of a permanent political arm of labor is essential, if we are to register our full influence in shaping the affairs of the nation.

To a great degree it boils down to this: our country has 80,000,000 citizens with the right—and obligation—to vote. But so many, in the past, considered the franchise so unimportant that in 1940 only about 50,000,000 Americans went to the polls. And though this was some 30,000,000 short of a total turnout, it did reflect the will of the vast majority. However, in 1942 only 28,000,000 voted: one of three eligible voters said his say. The nation today is the sufferer: the result did not jibe with the totality of the country's will. "We got," the CIO says in its excellent pamphlet *Every Worker a Voter*—"a Congress which votes against labor, against taxes according to ability to pay, against good subsidies and real price controls, against a home front program to win the war swiftly and effectively." Can such a Congress be entrusted with the peace or with guaranteeing a way of life which assures jobs and security in the postwar days? A rhetorical question, but there is a real answer. The answer lies in the ballot-box. "You can supply the answer with your votes," the CIO says. As Sidney Hillman put it at the CIO Convention last year: "Our task is to mobilize the power of these 14,000,000 men and women organized in our industrial organizations and to make them a gathering point for all the progressive forces, to give battle to the forces of reaction. Our first task is to see that this war is won in a decisive manner, resulting in the utter and crushing defeat of the Axis powers." Mr. Hillman pleaded for the widest possible sort of political organization, with a program not designed exclusively for the benefit of CIO, AFL, or any other particular groups, but reflecting the needs of the people as a whole.

It is well, perhaps, to strike a balance at this time, to assay the plus and the minus. The crusade is still in its initial stage: it is groping ahead, painfully, still too slowly, throughout the nation generally. But it *is* moving: I found this in my recent trip across the country. I saw the people on the move—everywhere a great centripetal motion, a drawing together, an impulse toward unity—as yet, in the main, unorganized, inchoate. But it was there, as I tried to indicate in the series of articles I wrote for New Masses at that time. Although I drew fire from some for wishful thinking, I am convinced this trend is real —evidence has accumulated that it is. But I will certainly contend that an unorganized sentiment, a general drift, cannot make history until it is crystallized into form, into a monolithic structure that will move forward as a political juggernaut, crushing the enemies of the people. It is not that, not yet. But the motivating factors are there, common to *all*: workingmen, farmers, middle classes, patriotic big business. They're in the *same* war: they share the passion of patriotism; they want victory and they want a warless world after victory. But they are not yet acting together, in totality, sufficiently to make their dreams real.

I saw that at rock-bottom in San Francisco, in Los Angeles, in Cleveland, in Detroit. In too many places the Democratic Party, for example, was badly organized, hanging on to ancient prejudices and archaic practices. I saw that labor, in too many places, had not yet learned the ABC of the future; first, its own unity, and concurrently, its unifying influence upon the entire community. This latter was perhaps most vivid in Detroit, where labor and the Negro people threatened the Klan-inspired mayoralty candidate with defeat. They had won the primaries by a thumping majority. On election day the Negro people turned out to the polls in splendidly unified contingents; the unions, too, inspired the majority of their members to vote. But they conducted their campaign in such a manner that they failed to win the support of the decisive areas of the community: their campaign allowed the opposition to rig the bugaboo of a "labor-Negro" municipal dictatorship which frightened the "neutral" sectors of the electorate. And despite the popular combine's sweeping victory in the primary, reaction's candidate won out by a 33,000 majority. The opposition had won, but I believe it was a Pyrrhic victory. For out of the defeat of labor and its great ally, the Negro, was born a consciousness of power and a knowledge of the way to win the greater election this November. They were learning how to vote in *coalition*, a wisdom that comes only from experience and hard knocks. They were learning that they cannot win alone—that a good warrior seeks good allies. They were mastering the mystery of the common denominator, which in politics, is sine qua non. Theirs is the task of convincing their non-labor neighbors that the cause of the entire community is the cause of the workingman. The CIO nationally recognizes this: labor *alone* cannot do the job. As the splendid *Guide to Political Action*, recently published by the United Electrical and Radio Workers Union, put it: "the *whole* people, including organized labor, must act *together* on the political field." It emphasizes: "Labor enters politics on behalf of the welfare of the people. Labor does not seek to control the government or influence governmental action out of proportion to labor's own democratic strength. The cause of labor and the nation is identical."

Those assumptions were best reflected at the CIO Conference on Full Employ-




ment several months ago. That gathering indicated—in contrast to the doubletalk and narrow-gauge thinking of certain leading AFL figures—that the future can be bright. The CIO leaders, as well as their invited guests, like Vice President Wallace, foresaw a world based upon the Teheran outlook: a long range era of peace affording the common man the perspective of great advance. They saw that these gains can be made within the framework of capitalism and that "free enterprise" was not the question on history's agenda. Their outlook was based upon an economy of abundance, upon full employment, upon maximum foreign trade, and not a spiraling downward of the whole machinery of production when the exigencies of war are ended. They realized that utmost cooperation *in struggle* of all strata of our people was imperative to secure that outlook. And



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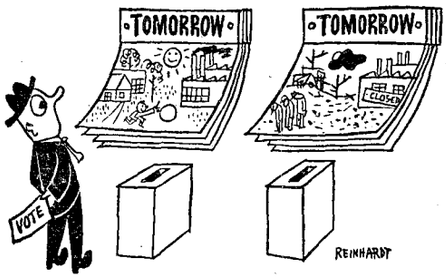



that Roosevelt must be at the helm to steer the ship of state toward those horizons.

This outlook is the common denominator of our country today: the exponents of this perspective are bound to tap the root-streams of America. This explains the continued popularity of the President, for these are his policies. And anybody basing himself upon a contrary program is swimming against the stream. Not only labor yearns for such a consummation: the various strata of America surge toward it, from farmland to the front-offices of the constructively-minded capitalists.

These basic assumptions of the CIO Political Action Committee have naturally drawn lightning; and the platoons of reaction—Dies, Smith, Roy Howard, Dubinsky, Lewis—have thundered their volleys. That thunder is the testimony of fear; it is evidence of the actual and potential strength of the PAC's.

Let me present proof of that growing strength. Perhaps I should begin at the top. Travel across America and you will find the headquarters of that new powerful organization: the Political Action Committee of the CIO headed by Sidney Hillman. The committee was born on July 8, after the ominous passage of the Smith-Connally Act: its stated purpose is to mobilize the entire labor movement—the ABC of America (AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods, and CIO) behind FDR and his policies. This is the fountainhead of labor's current activities directed toward the November elections. Fourteen regional offices have been created, and directors appointed for practically every region. The great international unions have lent experienced men to work with the directors—fourteen from the United Automobile Workers, eleven from the Electrical Workers, eleven from the Steelworkers, and so on.

It is well to link this organization with the tendency toward labor unity which began months and years back and which is gaining momentum down below. The press pretty well publicized the principal obstacle to the unification of both major wings of labor—the blast of the AFL executive committee, through its President, William Green, directing affiliates "to cease and desist" from cooperation with the CIO in the '44 campaign. But this you cannot learn from the commercial press: that the grass-roots movement toward unity is rising, growing, despite every desperate effort to halt it: that in many states the initiative for united political action came from AFL unions. That surge grows out of a complex of factors—but primarily from the reality that the same objective wartime factors confront AFL rank-and-file as well as CIO. Common to most is the increasing recognition that cooperation is imperative for victory, for the reelection of FDR and the fulfillment of the Teheran outlook. Some have drawn together to win on local issues; others found it necessary to join hands to combat the Smith-Connally Act or to rescue price control or the soldiers' vote. (The PAC's have stinted neither time nor energy to rally the populace for the soldiers' vote. And their campaign of enlightenment on this issue has thrown the spotlight on the major culprits—the Republican legislators, who had been hiding behind their poll-taxer shills, like Representatives Rankin and Dies.) Others operate together in specific war activities—the Red Cross, the Community Chest, et cetera. Still others have found it mutually advantageous in their trade union life to bury the hatchet and refrain from fratricidal strife.

Let me give you some instances at random. Off-hand, Ohio presents the most dramatic example of the unification process. There, despite the Green circular, an unprecedented conference was held in March, representing every area of organized labor, to plan the election registration of every workingman. Not only was the Ohio State Federation of Labor and the CIO on hand, but also the State Typographical Conference, Railroad Trainmen, Railway Conductors, Locomotive Engineers, Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, and even the United Mine Workers. Phil Hanna, AFL leader, got unanimous applause when he said: "The way to bring the war to a successful conclusion and to win the peace to follow is by reelection of Franklin D. Roosevelt for a fourth term and a friendly Congress to support him."

In Texas Martin Dies is all atremble. And he may well be. Representatives of the AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods, farm groups and other organizations have formed the Texas State Joint Social and Legislative Council. It numbers, today, more than half a million members.

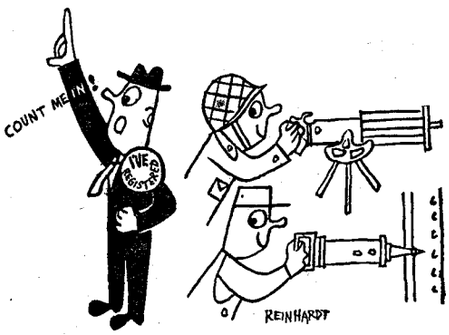
Not only that: Sidney Hillman has indicated that the Dies Committee's current attack upon the CIO Political Action Committee grew largely out of the defeatist's nightmare that he will be ousted from his congressional place next November. The reason? Poll tax payments in Dies' home bailiwick are twenty-five percent higher to date this year than at any time in history, as a result of a campaign by CIO and AFL organizations in that area. "Dies is obviously aroused to a frenzy by the possibility of his defeat for reelection," Mr. Hillman said.

A study of the trend in California, for example, shows this: joint legislative bodies and united slates are becoming the pattern as the May 16 primaries approach. The Alameda County's United Legislative Committee, consisting of CIO and AFL unions, endorsed, a few days ago, a common slate of candidates and organized a campaign to win them labor's support. In Contra Costa County, where the great Kaiser shipyards are organized by the AFL, that body and the CIO formed a joint organization for similar political action. Some 60,000 workers are represented. In Pittsburgh, Cal., a steel city, a common body sprang into being, including the CIO, AFL, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. William Milano, secretary of the CIO's United Steelworkers, was endorsed as a candidate for city council. In Los Angeles the CIO, AFL, and Railroad Brotherhoods are cooperating behind the same slate of primary candidates.

In Pennsylvania such large industrial towns as Bethlehem, Williamsport, and Reading have witnessed unity proceedings: fifty-three delegates representing 50,000 workers from twenty-four AFL, CIO, railroad and independent unions formed labor's Committee for Political Action to function in Northampton and Warren counties. Their basis for action was the unification of the community around FDR's message to Congress.

In New York the Queens County Labor Legislative Committee which represents fourteen AFL unions, and the Queens CIO Community Council agreed on parallel political action.

The Hartford Central Labor Union, AFL, unanimously rejected a demand by




John J. Murphy, regional director for William Green, that it withdraw from united political action. In New Haven a United Labor Legislative Conference was established by the AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods.

In Oklahoma, where the Democrats won a nationally significant victory, an Oklahoma Unity Council for joint political and legislative action was formed by the CIO, AFL, Railroad Brotherhoods, the National Farmers Union and other organizations. Their first campaign was a drive for registration and for a change in registration laws; Ray Byler, AFL executive secretary for the state, represents his organization.

In Illinois 147 delegates from the AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods, as well as other organizations, met to discuss politi-



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cal action last December. A sponsoring committee representing approximately 100,000 workers summoned them.

Space forbids the recital of nationwide actions of a similar sort; they are popping throughout the country, most notably in California, Minnesota, Kentucky, Rhode Island, Maine and Vermont. So the trend goes, as this random selection of unity episodes indicates.

And perhaps this additional incident should be included to complete the sketch. In North Dakota the Non-Partisan League, strongly influenced by organized labor, unanimously endorsed for the Senate the present Republican Congressman Usher L. Burdick, and declared unalterable opposition to Gerald P. Nye for his obstruction of the war effort. Burdick is well known as a strong supporter of the Roosevelt win-the-war policies.

One must observe, of course, that the AFL executive committee has endorsed Nye for reelection (as previously they backed Dies and Day). Truly a sorry perversion of the AFL slogan of rewarding labor's friends and punishing its enemies. These endorsements represent a victory in the top council for Hutcheson and Woll—a hollow victory, observers believe, when the issues reach the balky locals. Contrast this policy with the PAC's wise policy of endorsing win-the-war men of both parties—GOP as well as Democrats—men like Burdick regardless of party. The CIO strives to unite the millions of patriotic Republican voters with independents and Democrats.

ALL in all, evidence bearing out the unity trend is impressive, I submit. But over-confidence is as treacherous as Iago. We are talking here of a trend, not an accomplishment—a trend which indicates that the objective factors are favorable and it is heartening that able men are laboring consciously to translate those factors into organization for victory. Deadly folly it would be indeed to be pollyannaish about the weaknesses in the scene—the powerful opposition within labor to subvert that trend: the hostility of strongly-intrenched misleaders with access to the principal avenues of propaganda—men like Hutcheson, Woll, Dubinsky, Lewis et al. Nor does one dare underestimate the hostile, confusing currents within labor that affect even win-the-war men and groups—like some rail union leaders who blindly saddle Roosevelt with onus for the sabotage of his economic program, the handiwork of the defeatists in Congress. One cannot also overlook the fact that leaders of the pro-Roosevelt multitudes in the AFL have permitted the GOP lieutenants within their organizations to take and maintain the initiative. And one cannot disregard the reality that several millions of new, inexperienced workers recruited from the countryside have entered the labor movement: many of them fall prey to the Pegler, Lewis brand of propaganda.

Next week, and in forthcoming articles, I shall discuss these factors in greater detail—and what the PAC's are doing to mitigate and overcome them. This much is clear: hard unremitting work of enlightenment and organization is imperative if democracy is to win in November. The trend is favorable, yes, but trends don't pull levers on election day.

# The AFL Leadership Doubletalks

MATTHEW WOLL and David Dubinsky are not the American Federation of Labor, but the way in which they dominated the AFL forum on labor and the postwar would lead a casual observer to think they were. After presenting a program which indubitably reflected much of the sentiment of the rank and file (a program which claimed the Moscow and Teheran decisions as the point of departure) they spent the rest of the sessions undermining that outlook. Theirs was a sorry show of Mairzy Doats political double-talk. In fact, the program itself (though it plumped for a postwar world of peace and international harmony, and an economy of abundance) was dynamited by sinister passages reflecting the ideas of men like William Hutcheson, Matthew Woll, David Dubinsky—and the GOP brain-trusters. The shady references to "unilateralism" provided grounds for attacking Britain and the Soviet Union; the mealy-mouthed concern over "private enterprise" (as though anybody of significance deems that the issue today) laid the basis for assaults upon the administration; and the simulated concern over the "trend toward centralization and the expansion of government control" echoed Governor Dewey's horrifics about "bureaucracy."

Most significant of all was the absence throughout the sessions of any reference to President Roosevelt and the need to attain an abundant economy under FDR's leadership.

The major speeches at the forum—with a few exceptions—afforded comfort to the administration's enemies. The injection of the "free enterprise" issue—obviously trumped up for partisan political purposes—was managed by a number of speakers, particularly President Eric Johnston, of the US Chamber of Commerce and Robert Gaylord, president of the National Association of Manufacturers. It certainly cannot be said that the AFL leaders present met the phoney issue head on. They collaborated with the partisan sentiments through their silence. Closest to an answer was that of AFL Secretary-Treasurer George Meany, who differentiated his position from that of the Woll-Hutcheson-Dubinsky crowd by warning against a return to the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover era and by demanding full adherence to collective bargaining laws. He proposed conferences with the president of the US Chamber of Commerce and other business leaders to plan an economy of plenty.

If anything, the conference bared David Dubinsky and his associates in their true colors. Dubinsky proved that he lines up with the GOP hatchet-men within labor, with men like John L. Lewis, Hutcheson, and Woll. (One can recall only with contempt his avowals of support of FDR during the recent ALP campaign.)

Any objective examination of the speeches of Woll and Dubinsky proves to the hilt that they are in reality opposed to the Teheran outlook, to the program enunciated recently by Secretary Hull, to the President's foreign and domestic policies. They railed at the alleged "unilateralism" of the Soviet Union, by presenting themselves as the "exponents" of the small nations. Dubinsky came crassly to the defense of the Polish government-in-exile by whitewashing its pro-fascist and anti-Semitic character. The Atlantic Charter was in danger of becoming "a scrap of paper." Our Soviet and British allies were being "appeased." It all sounded as though the words were Dubinsky's but the brain was McCormick's. Under-Secretary of State Breckinridge Long put his finger on this divisive strategy when he warned how it "is easy, particularly under the stress and worry of wartime conditions, to magnify some problems out of all proportion to their real merit in relation to the attainment of military success."

The forum as a whole projected an untrue, distorted picture of the AFL membership to the nation. And this should cause concern for those millions in that great labor setup who seek an America modelled along the policies of the President and his associates of Teheran. It is high time the AFL spokesmen for genuine victory in the war and afterward mobilize fully and go on the offensive. Otherwise the sinister opposition within labor can win the day by default.



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# THE BATTLE OF OHIO

**By BRUCE MINTON**

*Columbus, Ohio.*

THE Republicans in this state capital—at least those who loll around party headquarters — are a very special breed. They have faith with a vengeance, faith in their handsome governor, John W. Bricker, who at the moment is barnstorming through the country with the evident intention of convincing the electorate of his devotion to monogamy, the Constitution, high tariffs, and mother love. His personal appearance in Oklahoma—many Ohioans boast—in large measure persuaded the voters to go down the line for the Democrats. Perhaps such a conclusion gives Honest John too much credit. In his own state, Bricker has managed to convince only forty percent of Ohio Republicans to name him in recent test polls as their first choice for President. Elsewhere, "jest plain John" (as he is referred to by the heelers striving to pass Bricker off as a skimmed-milk Lincoln) has an unbroken record among the "also rans." The Columbus claque, however, insists that he is a cinch to walk away with the GOP nomination at the convention this summer.

Their loyalty is touching if somewhat ingenuous, tinged with a nostalgia for the good old days of 1943 before Governor Dewey of New York seriously turned coy and put on his act of seductive indecision: "Well, now, I might, and then again I mightn't—but I might." A man of Bricker's stolidity dare not play that game—which disturbs Columbus Republicans no end. Besides, Senator Taft stuck the Governor's neck out for him over a year ago and Bricker can't pretend to be casual about the results of the nominating convention. Recently, he has given some signs that he will be satisfied if the Republicans run him for Vice President. There is a good deal of the Coolidge beneath Bricker's bluff Hardingesque exterior—an inclination toward the better-safe-than-sorry philosophy which aims not too high and is willing to accept second best without too much chagrin. After all, Cal's caution paid off pretty well.

In Columbus, an elaborate mythology accompanies the Bricker boosting: for example, Bricker, so the fantasy goes, is not a Taft man—one of the Governor's "intimates" solemnly assured me, "I've known John all the years he's been in Columbus and he even surprises *me*—he just can't be 'had.' You may not believe there is such a person in practical politics, but I tell you John can't be put in any man's pocket. Oh, they've all tried, and the Governor don't say much, but once a fellow approaches John, why after that the Governor shies away from him. He's a real American independent. . . ." That's the patter—about as convincing as "proof" that Sen. Curley Brooks of Illinois has never heard of Colonel McCormick and the Chicago *Tribune*. Moreover, they say in Columbus the Governor won't accept the nomination except on his terms. No sir, Bricker may be slightly on the conservative side, but he certainly isn't any reactionary. He's what they call a Herbert Hoover progressive. He won't campaign as a Roosevelt hater; he only thinks that the President is a dictator and all his policies are dead wrong. Bricker offers a sound program of governmental reorganization—which has a quality that Garfield or Chester Arthur might in their day have considered sufficiently contemporary without being too daring.

IT IS gratifying to return to Ohio after a year and to discover that the favorite son doesn't look so hot, and that if he weren't running for President he could probably be beaten for governor. That does not by any means detract from the importance of Ohio as a key state in the approaching elections. Ohio remains, as it always has been, of crucial importance, not only because with California it casts the fourth largest vote in the electoral college, but also because Ohio is more representative of the rest of the country than most other states. It is near the top in war production. Industry, both heavy and light, sprawls over the whole state; at the same time, Ohio rates among the leaders in agricultural output. Every important union has substantial membership in this area—the automobile, steel, rubber, electrical, building trades, garment, railroad, machinist, typographical, teamster, and brewery unions—to name a few—with some coal miners in the south. The population is widely diversified, from early pioneer families, and southern mountaineers who came into the mass production industries during the last war and in the early twenties, to large groups of first, second, and third generation Americans of Yugoslav, Czech, Pole, Jewish, German, and Irish extraction. In no other northern state are the Negro people so widely distributed, with close to 100,000 in Cleveland, and well over 10,000 in at least seven other Ohio cities (and nearer to 25,000 each in Columbus and Cincinnati).

Yet, at this writing, and without trying to put a better face on things, President Roosevelt's chances of carrying Ohio in November are only fair. I am not suggesting that he will fail to win the state, or that he cannot conceivably win it with ease and perhaps overwhelmingly. But quite frankly, as of April 1944, the President's ability to beat Bricker or Dewey dare not be taken for granted.

The most obvious difficulty hampering Roosevelt in Ohio is the absence of a strong Democratic state organization. For years Ohio Democrats have been plagued by the futile battle for party control raging between former Governor Davey and ex-Lieutenant Governor Sawyer. The feud is about ended, but it has left its mark on Democratic organization, so that the party is all too aimless, and by no means efficiently mobilized. In Cleveland, the Democratic stronghold, the remarkable victory of Mayor Frank J. Lausche in 1943—he won seventy-two percent of the popular vote—has done much to rejuvenate the party. Elsewhere in the state it lags. The Republicans are also experiencing some internal difficulties, but they can boast of the strong Taft-Ed Schorr machine based in Cincinnati with very real power in the farm areas, and despite some friction, functioning pretty smoothly in Columbus and in the middle part of the state, with the aid of the local Wolf outfit.

Ohio primaries will be held on May 9. It is difficult to discuss the outlook for the November elections before the party tickets are selected. But it is already fairly certain that Cleveland's Mayor Frank J. Lausche will be designated Democratic choice for governor, and will probably run against Taft's stooge, Mayor James G. Stewart of Cincinnati (or, though unlikely, against the present attorney-general, Thomas J. Herbert). Lausche's nomination, which seems assured, will be of unusual significance to the entire Democratic ticket, both state and national. Lausche is not just another mayor; he has immense personal popularity in Cleveland and is acknowledged throughout the state as a leading progressive. Remember that the Bricker crowd forced the Ohio legislature to separate the state from the national ticket in 1940 in order to prevent President Roosevelt's prestige from carrying over into the contests for state officers. The separation is still in effect. With Lausche heading the state Democratic ticket, there will be a definite link between the campaign for governor and for President. The Mayor is an out and out win-the-war spokesman, a progressive with a good labor record. He will undoubtedly campaign vigorously as a convinced supporter of the President and



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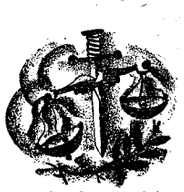
his policies. Through Lausche, the main issues of this critical campaign—foreign relations, economic stabilization, complete victory over the fascist enemy—will be brought to the people. Lausche is an able and dramatic speaker, a man of great personal charm, and a whirlwind campaigner. Against the fretful Stewart, who has neither Bricker's good looks nor Taft's shrewdness (though so far as he can comprehend, he shares their ugly reaction), Lausche will prove to be extremely powerful.

Of course, the Republicans pretend a great scornfulness for Lausche—on the record; off the record, they admit he is by far the most distinguished (really the only distinguished) candidate for governor. But, the Republicans insist, Lausche cannot overcome the disadvantages of being from Cleveland and of having a foreign name (both of which points can be used—and the Republicans will see to it that they are used—against him among downstate farmers). Besides, the Cleveland mayor is a Catholic. Ray Miller, county chairman of the Democratic party and member of the state committee, pleaded with Lausche, for whom he has a deep personal animosity, not to run because of his religion. Miller is a Catholic himself, and a year ago objected to Lausche as a candidate for mayor of Cleveland because Lausche married a Protestant. As the Mayor put it, Miller accuses him first of not being a good enough and then of being too good a Catholic. How much Miller's and some of his henchmen's hostility will interfere with Lausche's campaign is hard to predict. But it is safe to forecast that the Bricker-Schorr-Wolf-Taft crowd—the new Ohio gang—will indulge in the usual sort of obscene whispering campaign against Lausche in the downstate area (which formerly had a sizeable Ku Klux Klan), aided by the Coughlin-Gerald L. K. Smith American Firsters in Cleveland and their racket, which calls itself the United Mothers. The Republican-racist groups will in all likelihood make some hay with this sort of fascist appeal to un-American prejudices, but if Lausche tours the state so that the electorate can hear and see him, and if he continues his militant espousal of Roosevelt policies, there is every reason to believe he can overcome the nasty slurs.



**"THE fact is that the Schappes case is not exclusively a Communist case. ... Any decent, alert citizen should learn about it and, if possible, do something about it." —Albert Deutsch, "PM," April 13. Have you written Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, Albany, N. Y., urging him to pardon the pioneer anti-fascist, Morris U. Schappes, now serving an unjust jail sentence?**

UNFORTUNATELY, Lausche still lacks financial backing—when I was in Cleveland he had sixty dollars in his campaign treasury. He can expect little help from most of the big Ohio industrialists and financiers who hate Roosevelt first and then hate Roosevelt second, and only belatedly get around to finding a few mild words of condemnation for Herr Hitler. The Taft machine is spending money as though the gang were printing it—du Pont money, Timken money contributed by the Toledo ball bearing family, and money as yet not identified. Lausche, who in one sense will run political interference for Roosevelt in Ohio, can expect only the cold shoulder from the big boys. True, some of them are sincerely concerned with postwar problems and even endorse the President's Teheran policies. A few wanted Willkie as Republican nominee because of his foreign policy. But as yet even the wiser of them cling to their Republicanism, to their innate conservatism, and to their very real prejudice against the President. Their hate of Roosevelt has become an indispensable habit, despite the implications of this habit to themselves and the country.

Perhaps here and there a maverick will appear among the wealthier groups who will be unable to tolerate Republican defeatism and will courageously offer public support to the President. But such defections will be few and relatively unimportant. What is far more significant is the growing unity of labor and its involvement in Ohio politics. Not with the narrow outlook of "support your friends, punish your enemies," but with the clear intention of bringing out the vote and explaining the issues. The unity among various state and local labor organizations has already reached substantial proportions. Nor is this growing concern with political action merely formal; on a statewide basis, the AFL, CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods actually function unitedly and effectively. I talked to Philip Hannah, president of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, and a member of the Teamsters Union. He is an energetic, clear-headed, practical man who understands the issues of the coming election and who does more than talk about them. He realizes, as most labor leaders in Ohio now realize, that this state must be carried for Roosevelt. Having made up his mind, he has brushed aside difficulties, has dismissed William Green's letter forbidding AFL joint political action with the CIO as both irrelevant and impertinent, and has thrown his full weight, which is considerable, into the main fight. The state AFL has for the most part responded to his leadership. The CIO exerts its enormous energy to mobilize the people, both statewide under Jack Kroll of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers who heads the CIO's Ohio Political Action Committee, and locally in the various industrial communities. Cleveland, of course, is most advanced. There labor forced the Board of Elections to remain open six evenings to allow war workers to register. Up to then, average registration had been 200 per day; after labor opened the election board at night, registrations reached a high of 4,000 in one day. The story, if less dramatic, can be repeated for Cincinnati, Akron, Warren, Toledo, Youngstown, and elsewhere.

Labor is just getting mobilized; it has much to learn and many problems to solve. Ward organization, the need to draw closer to the people in the neighborhoods and particularly to the Negro people and the women, is still at the beginning stages. There are lags—for example, the desire to publish a weekly labor paper discussing candidates and issues in Hamilton County (Cincinnati) is still unfulfilled because many unions respond to requests for support too slowly and often fail to translate good intentions into needed contributions of man power and money. But labor is on the way to making hard political sense in Ohio; its approach is broadly conceived, intelligently directed. The state AFL has already endorsed President Roosevelt for a fourth term. The CIO, which is subject to decisions of the national convention, has not yet endorsed Roosevelt, but it was instrumental (along with the White House) in persuading Lausche to run for governor, and the CIO state leadership and its membership have indicated a perfectly clear understanding of the direction they must take.

Labor's political action is the core of the 1944 pro-war, pro-Teheran, anti-Bricker, anti-Taft, anti-fascist campaign. If labor succeeds in bringing the issues to the people, the possibilities are better than good to defeat both the Republican presidential and gubernatorial nominees, as well as the lesser candidates.

YET at this time a great many voters in Ohio, with the exception of labor, show signs of confusion. The Negro communities are typical. The Negroes do not vote (with the exception of a few dominated by the Republican machine) as Democrats or Republicans, but as a people; they vote on the issues, in favor of the candidate who offers greater opportunities to fight discrimination, poor conditions, humiliation. The Democrats in Ohio have quite generally failed to put up Negro candidates or to pay much attention to the Negroes' needs. The exception is Mayor Lausche, who, while running for mayor on the Democratic ticket, endorsed a Negro Republican for judge. The Negroes in Cleveland responded to this honest and brave gesture by voting overwhelmingly for Lausche. Recently, the Republicans have been heaping all blame for discrimination and Jim-Crowism on Roosevelt. The Negroes have been somewhat affected, to be sure, but not very profoundly as yet. They are not easily misled. But Ohio Democrats have been entirely too careless of the Negro vote. If Lausche is nominated, he will help labor overcome this incompetence.



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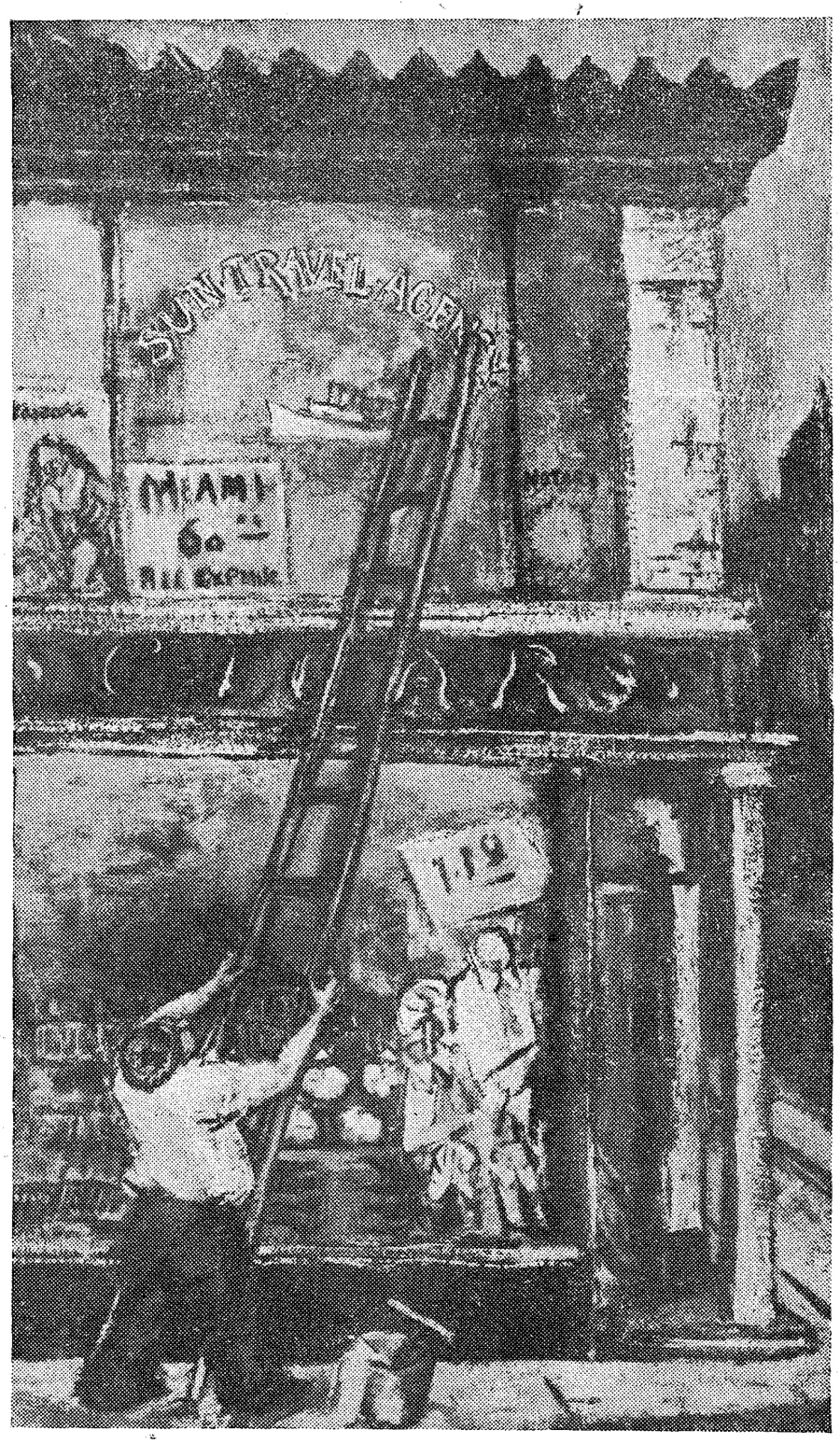
Labor entered the political fight too late to be particularly effective in the primaries or to have much voice in the selection of candidates. As a result, many Democratic hopefuls who are out to get the nomination and to oppose the Republican congressional incumbents are either undistinguished or relatively unknown. True, a young Negro, Forrest Smith, if he is nominated, has a chance against the defeatist John Vorys in Columbus. Courtney Ward, a liberal, is running for Democratic nomination as Congressman-at-large with labor endorsement and an outside hope of winning the nomination. But to complete the picture we face the discouraging fact that Robert Taft has a pretty clear edge for reelection to the Senate. Taft has money, prestige, no opposition in the primaries, a well-oiled machine. None of the Democrats seems sufficiently well known throughout the state to offer him much competition in November.

This quick look at Ohio—which does not presume to be more than pre-primary notes, does suggest certain general conclusions. It seems to me after talking to labor leaders, politicos of both parties, rank-and-file voters, conservatives, progressives, middle-of-the-roaders, and some outright pro-fascists like J. F. Lincoln of Cleveland (president of the Lincoln Electric Company, who told me that the main problem before the country was not to win the war —"what have we got to win?"—but to defeat "autocracy" by which he meant President Roosevelt), it seems to me the greatest mistake that could be made is to consider the reelection of President Roosevelt as foreordained. One look at the Republican machine in this typical state shows that the choice is clear enough, if the people are given the opportunity to see the choice. For the Republican party is dominated by bitter-enders, reactionaries, selfish and vicious partisans, thinking in terms that are both insular and outworn. That does not imply that the average Republican is not a good American. But the leadership of the party is bankrupt, at best negative in approach, at worst leaning toward the aberrations of fascism.

Yet, too frequently liberals who fear the Taft-Bricker reaction have embraced defeatism, ready to give up in advance. In that respect, the Oklahoma Democratic victory and the remarkable landslide in favor of the progressive leadership of the American Labor Party in New York will give new courage to many here in Ohio. Even acknowledging that a so-called "trend" critical of Roosevelt is apparent in the state, it would be the worst sort of confusion to think of November in terms of the present. Between now and election day the United Nations will invade northern Europe. The majority of Ohio newspapers, busily needling the people about the "nuisance" of gas rationing, OPA "regimentation," Washington "bureaucracy," and "New Deal dictatorship," will find their miserable misrepresentations unacceptable when the main American armies go into action.




"Window Cleaner," by Frank Kleinholz.

The task of bringing the issues to the people cannot be left solely to the President. In Ohio, Mayor Lausche will do his considerable share. But above all, labor can be expected to play an ever more decisive role. Despite speculation about candidates and the outcome of the elections, most plain people—most Negroes, farmers, Jews, workers, churchgoers, small businessmen, housewives, and even some of the larger industrialists—ask: What comes after this war? How can we win the peace? How can the war be made to yield something that will justify the world's present suffering and deprivation? The Republicans have no answer, except to kick Roosevelt. Labor can aid the people to gain a meaningful perspective which the czars of the Republican party lack and have no chance of achieving. Never have progressives been confronted with a tougher and more significant struggle. Never have they had at their disposal more telling weapons, if they will but use them.



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# REBIRTH IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

**By PAUL KUDRNA**

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, the victim of Munich, is on the threshold of liberation. At this writing Marshal Zhukov's men along with Czechoslovak troops who form the First Brigade under the command of General Svoboda are struggling through the Carpathian passes. And the Czechoslovak government in London has already declared, after negotiations with Moscow, that all preparations are being made for the speedy return of at least part of the government to the homeland. As the armies move forward civil administration will be restored in well planned stages. In the meantime, President Benes and his colleagues have appealed by radio to the Czech and Slovak people to rise against the Nazis. "Kill the German troops and Gestapo agents, sabotage the German war machine, derail trains, blow up bridges, form guerrilla bands. The hour of liberation approaches. Stand up. Fight!" This is the text of one of the government's broadcasts from London, Kiev, and Moscow to Czechoslovakia and rebroadcast by the underground's secret radio stations.

On the eve of great and dramatic developments within Czechoslovakia what is the current of affairs above and below ground? How is the future of Czechoslovakia shaping itself in the minds of those under the Nazi yoke and in the minds of Czechs and Slovaks in London and Moscow? These are questions which the speed of events are bringing to the fore. But before they can be answered it would be well to get an idea of the background against which these questions are being resolved.

The so-called protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia (the western part of Czechoslovakia minus the Sudeten territories) has been one of the most important arsenals of the Nazi war machine. Many industries from the bombed areas of western Germany have been transferred to Bohemian and Moravian districts. The big Skoda plants are all working for the Nazi army. Likewise Czech agriculture has been strained to the utmost to fill the Wehrmacht's storehouses. While persistent sabotage has slowed down the production of Czech factories and fields they have nevertheless been of the greatest value to Hitler. Thousands of Czech patriots have perished. Nazi reprisals against any display of resistance have been brutal and terrifying. For all that there has been no grand scale rebellion or guerrilla warfare as in Greece, Yugoslavia, and France. This lack of armed resistance has been due—as leaders of the most active anti-fascist forces have pointed out more than once—to the consequences of the poisoning of public morale by Czechoslovakia's capitulation to the Nazis in September, 1938. The Czech people have not fully recovered from the paralysis with which they were stricken when they were forced to surrender without a fight.

On the other hand, all the Nazi's efforts to establish a basis for Hacha's quisling regime have failed. Hacha's most recent attempt to rally some popular support around himself and the Germans led only to fiasco. Hacha tried to organize a "League to Fight Bolshevism," but it never went farther than the committee stage, with a membership of a few hundred men, mostly officials. It must be noted, however, that a number of university teachers and intellectuals, most of them members of defeatist parties, took part in the founding of the organizing committee.

AS BACKGROUND to this development it is worth reviewing a recent article by Klement Gottwald which has been widely commented upon in all London political circles, official and unofficial. Gottwald, now living in Moscow, is a member of the Czechoslovak parliament and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. His article first appeared in *Ceskoslovenske Listy*, a newspaper published in the USSR, and was later republished by the London Czech weekly, *Nove Ceskoslovensko*, an organ of the National Front with a clear cut anti-fascist policy.

Gottwald undertakes to evaluate Czechoslovak democracy during the First Republic (1918-1938). He points out that during those years the Czechoslovak people enjoyed many democratic rights, but real power "was in the hands of a small group of big financiers, big industrial capitalists and big agrarian capitalists." Outwardly, a coalition of parties governed, but the ruling group of big capitalists had at their disposal a number of reactionary, semi-fascist and fascist organizations. They also had close relations with reactionary parties in Slovakia and in the so-called Sudeten regions—the Hlinka and Henlein parties. The character of that ruling group was disclosed during the Munich crisis, during the interlude between Munich and total occupation by the Germans in March 1939, and during the occupation itself.

Gottwald also shows how the political representatives of that group of big financiers were instrumental in negotiating the Munich capitulation. The Czech people wanted to fight, but Czech reaction, with Hitler's help, hoped to rid the country of democracy. Gottwald, for example, writes that "one of the leaders of the Agrarian Party, Zadina, appeased the excited peasants by telling them that Hitler, after all, would do nothing to injure the principle of private property. The president of the Zivnostenska Bank, Preiss, declined at the most crucial moment, on September 23 when mobilization was declared, to furnish the government with funds. When the Henlein party tried to engineer a putsch, the minister of the interior, Cerny, a leader of the Agrarian Party, ordered the police to evacuate the Sudeten districts. . . . The same shameful role was played by Czech reaction during the Second Republic (between Munich and March 1939). The Czech reactionaries deprived the people of all democratic rights and delivered Slovakia to the fascist Hlinka gang. Carpathian Russia was turned over to Germany and Hungary for their preparations against the USSR." Finally came the total capitulation of President Hacha who bowed before Hitler's demands, let the Germans occupy Prague and formed a quisling government under Nazi "protection."

A consequence of this treason was the utter despair of the Czechs and Slovaks, and out of this despair came a reexamination of every value. "A growing number of rank-and-file members of the former reactionary parties," writes Gottwald, "now turn their backs on their leaders of the past. Our Czechoslovak national liberation movement contains members from all social strata and representatives of all political trends—people who have never reconciled themselves to the conquest of their homeland by the Nazis and who are fighting for the restoration of freedom and independence.

"The National Front admits anyone without reference to his past (with the sole exception of traitors). In the Czechoslovak National Front there are also people and groups who have wavered in the fight against Hitlerism and who even now are not sufficiently firm. They stand for the opportunistic policies of wavering and waiting. Our National Front is very broad and unites large masses, but there is a certain lack of firm leadership. This explains the weakness of the liberation struggle in the homeland and above all the weakness of the guerrilla movement in Czechoslovakia."

IN SLOVAKIA things look somewhat different. Slovakia was not made an outright protectorate but got the title of "ally" of Greater Germany. The Nazis were anxious to maintain the appearance of an independent Slovak state. There was a fairly strong native pro-fascist movement (the Hlinka party and the Hlinka Guard) and a substantial part of the Slovak population adopted a wait-and-see attitude to-



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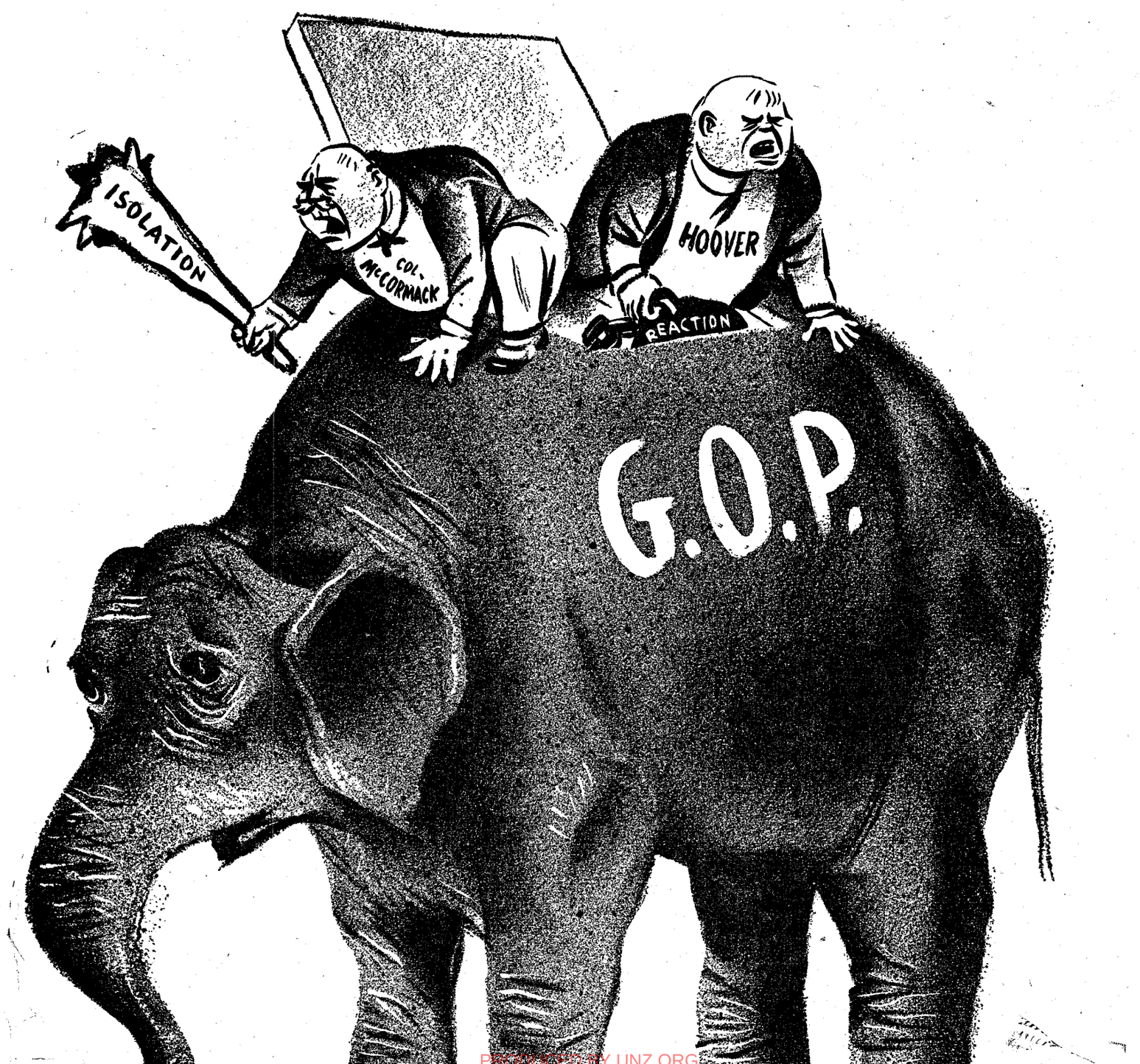
# The Trojan Elephant

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wards the new regime of Tiso-Tuka-Mach, the Nazis' factotums.

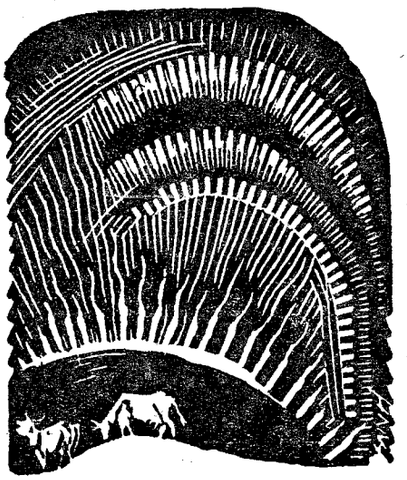
The catastrophic reverses of the German armies at the Eastern Front in the summer of 1943 changed the whole Nazi pattern of dealing with Slovakia. The Nazis had to get much more out of the country than the quisling regime was able to deliver. The Nazis also began to feel more and more insecure among a population angered by increased requisitions and influenced by underground news about the turn of events in the east (where, by the way, a whole Slovak division had deserted to the Soviet armies).

Last January and February Berlin demanded from the Slovak quisling regime increased deliveries of food stuffs, labor battalions, and auxiliary troops for garrison duties behind the German front. The quislings promised everything but were unable to deliver. Thereupon the Gestapo reinforced its units in Slovakia and pressed for more slave labor, cattle, and wheat. Underground activities increased immediately, sabotage reached new peaks. In the Carpathian mountain districts, where some partisan units had been carrying on a war against quisling gendarmes and German Elite Guard detachments, the Nazis had to declare martial law. In March, 200,000 Nazi troops were sent into Slovakia "to protect the country against the menace of Bolshevism." German officers and officials took over the administration of the border districts, the police force, and the courts. Thousands of peasant families were evacuated in order to make room for the billeting of German troops and the construction of fortifications.

The quisling regime, hoping to retain a shadow of independence, made preparations for the celebration of the fifth anniversary of the declaration of independence of Slovakia—March 14, 1944. But a week prior to that widely publicized event, the Nazi authorities stepped in and forbade all demonstrations and meetings because of "the gravity of the times and the possibility of enemy misuse of these demonstrations."

The quisling newspapers *Gardista* and *Slovak* are now showing signs of panic. A campaign has been launched against "all those cowards who seek to become friends of Jews, Czechs, and hidden Bolsheviks." Another furious campaign is directed against the "mass resignations of people who pretend to be sick and even attempt self-mutilation in order to have some excuse for leaving public positions."

The German *Volksgruppe* in Slovakia (a German national group enjoying special privileges) is also in a panic, judging from the frantic appeals of Gauleiter Karmasin, leader of that group and Hitler's special trustee in the Slovak quisling government. Karmasin in his recent speeches lamented the increasing defeatism of his co-nationals. Germans from Slovakia try to get rid of houses, farms, and real estate at almost any price. Hardly anyone wears the swastika openly. In certain cases, members of the *Volksgruppe* have been brought before Gestapo courts for selling the weapons issued them in the fall of 1942 when the first signs of insecurity popped up. German Nazi papers in Slovakia made a great to-do about the trial of a "traitorous party member" who helped Jews and let them sign documents saying that he had been supporting them despite the Nazi laws. But soon the whole affair was hushed up. Apparently the Nazis found out that this news did not deter other "persons with a weakened faith" from committing similar "crimes." Karmasin went even so far as to shout during one of his meetings that "one has to know that rats leaving a ship have no hope of survival either."



"Dawn," by Helen West Heller.

THE National Front of Liberation in both parts of Czechoslovakia has made great progress in setting up underground National Committees in every district and town.

Outside Czechoslovakia, the emigres are united, with the exception of a small semi-fascist group in London (working hand in glove with the Polish reactionaries and British appeasers) and the Slovak groups supporting Hodza in this country. The Czechoslovak pact with the USSR, concluded a few months ago, was enthusiastically acclaimed by the vast majority of Czechs and Slovaks both in and out of the country. The Nazi's furious reaction was the best proof of that fact. This pact, far from making Czechoslovakia a "Russian satellite" or depriving her of her independence, has strengthened the liberation movement and the desire for a new republic, free and independent and not in danger of being sold down the river as it was in the days of Munich.

The Czech and Slovak people feel a deep gratitude and love for their Soviet ally. In all their dealings with the Soviets the Czechoslovaks were given ample proof of Soviet respect for Czechoslovakia as an equal, as an ally, as a friend. President Benes has already emphasized that "the Czechoslovak-Soviet alliance has assured the security of Czechoslovakia."

IT IS the desire of the underground organizations, the army and the members of the government-in-exile and the State Council that the Third Republic be "free, independent, and more democratic than its predecessors." It is true, not all the sectors of the National Front have the same conception of what this freedom and democracy should be. And here it is again pertinent to quote from Gottwald's article. Recently there have been successful unity negotiations between the Social Democrats, the Communists and Czech Socialists (Benes' party); trade union unity was achieved and the formation of a united labor and progressive party seems near. Gottwald's words must be read with all this in mind. "The firm and authoritative leadership of our National Front" he writes, "cannot be achieved by one single person nor by the representatives of one party alone. Such a leadership must be representative of a bloc of political parties and groups with a political past and social roots of such a character as to give sufficient guaranties of their abilities to lead the National Front. A good and successful first attempt to create such a political coalition was made last year through the united May Day appeal of the London and Moscow representatives of three Czechoslovak parties—the Communists, Social Democrats, and Czech Socialists—to the nation. This appeal is a good program for struggle and it is acceptable to every element of the National Front. But this first attempt was not followed up by others. . . .

"The future social order of Czechoslovakia must be organized in a democratic way, that is, by the will of the people. All elements of the National Front agree with this—at least in their words. But this formula is too general and has to be made more specific. It would be premature to predict how the will of the liberated people will react to the different political parties. The process of political change and regrouping is not finished. But it is already clear that in the liberated Czechoslovak Republic the people will not allow the return to political power of that group of big financial, business, and agrarian capitalists who have betrayed the fatherland before. The power must belong to the bloc of the workers, peasants, merchants, craftsmen, and the intelligentsia. Future political conditions in liberated Czechoslovakia will greatly depend on the agreement and the united action of the three parties—Communist, Social Democrat, and Czech Socialist—which represent the will of the overwhelming majority of the population. The toiling people of Czechoslovakia must govern the country through the elected representatives and cease to be the fifth wheel on the cart as it was during the old pre-Munich coalition regime."



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# FOCUS ON RECONVERSION

## By VIRGINIA GARDNER

*Washington.*

THERE is still a great deal of confusion in the thinking on reconversion problems in Washington. As the Baruch-Hancock report on war and postwar adjustment makes clear, we have an opportunity not only to avoid another postwar depression but to increase our living standards and security. It's a curious thing about the Baruch-Hancock report. Both among government and labor people here it is bitterly attacked by a certain stripe of liberal. He is emotional about it. I ran into one obscure little government economist who, on learning I was with NEW MASSES, pulled out of his pocket with trembling hands a mass of typewritten pages. He said they showed that CIO President Philip Murray's letter supporting the general approach of the Baruch-Hancock report was "word for word" like "Communist documents." Well, "idea for idea," then. As proof he pointed to the use of the word "Teheran" by Murray. I asked if that were a Communist trademark. He said chokingly that only the Communists talked about it. What would he say about Secretary of State Cordell Hull?

JOHN HANCOCK, who with Bernard Baruch acts as an adviser to Office of War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes, is quite aware of this sniping at the report—just as he is aware that NEW MASSES has adopted a generally positive attitude toward it. "And these people who complain about it over their teacups," he told me good-naturedly, "are the very ones who don't come in with a single constructive idea." He also had something to say about those people (often the same) who are less interested in a realistic approach to foreign trade in the postwar period than they are in, as he said, "hollering 'cartels.'" "You hear them in Congress, too," he said. "They whip up a lot of feeling about it. Now, my idea—and it's not Thurman Arnold's—is that while we all would like to discourage monopolies in America, and we want free competition in America, I don't see why individual American firms should enter into the same kind of competition with the world. I don't see why we can't send representatives of our oil men—or anything else—*as a unit*—to an international conference table, with, of course, the government keeping an eye on it."

I asked Mr. Hancock if in writing their report he and Mr. Baruch had envisioned a period of unity between labor and industry extending into the postwar period. "We didn't see it that sharply," he said, "but we saw industrial peace. If both sides just use enlightened self-interest we can have it."

Mr. Hancock is a big, florid-faced man, with almost white hair, a quick smile and quick speech, who came to Washington from the great banking firm of Lehman Brothers. He is proud of having worked from 7 AM to midnight every day for five months. His partner broke down under the strain. Mr. Hancock works his secretaries in shifts. When I left him at seven o'clock, he said it was just the middle of the day for him.

Most of what he said made sense—good, hard sense. He has occasional blind spots, however. When asked what he thought of CIO President Philip Murray's proposal that labor and industry be represented on a surplus property board, he said he would be against their having a voice in decisions, although he indicated it might be all right with him if they served in an advisory capacity. His theory was that we couldn't have "selfish groups" deciding for themselves. This despite the record of both industry and labor in the war, particularly the latter. In the report the authors are very hard on "pressure groups." Hr. Hancock didn't mean labor or industry, he said —"but those who would dump all surplus goods in the ocean in fear of its causing unemployment, and those who own, say, copper, and want only to sell it at a big profit."

In recommending creation of a "work director" in the Office of War Mobilization to "see that the human side of demobilization is not forgotten," Messrs. Baruch and Hancock viewed the veteran and the war worker as twin problems, he said. "They're both in the war effort," and he spoke of an old Mosaic law which he paraphrased as: "Those who go down to the sea in ships shall share and share alike."

"There is one misconception of our report," he said. "It is said we didn't consider human needs. But there's no body of employers today as large or as fruitful of new employment as the war contractors. The quickest way to meet human needs is to get them back where they can employ people. Oh, it's been said our report was a bonus bill for business. It's not at all; it's the reverse. It sets limitations on profits."

Neither Mr. Baruch nor Mr. Hancock was consulted on the appointment of Brig.-Gen. Frank T. Hines, head of the Veterans' Administration, as work director. Told that many were dissatisfied at his appointment, Mr. Hancock said, "Then why don't they get busy and name their candidate? I assume Congress will pass legislation on that office." Mr. Hancock would not comment on the Kilgore bill, based on their report, prior to his testifying on it before Congress. On surplus property disposal he said: "Let's learn how, let's learn what the problems are, and out of Mr. Clayton's [Will Clayton, administrator in charge of surplus property] experience, recommend legislation to Congress." He went on to say, however, "The writing of legislation is a very difficult job. We in America don't write objectives in legislation, we write what people are to do. You have a choice between Congress' writing a definitive bill, and trusting to a man's judgment. We don't need legislation on disposal of surplus property now. The war powers survive, and the executive agencies exist. We do need legislation on contract termination." He got the six war agencies to agree on a bill on contract termination, and also won the agreement of Senator George's committee on postwar problems in two weeks, he said, whereas Congress had been talking of it for nearly a year.

"We expect a broad gauge view from both capital and labor," he summed up. "But in the end the consumer is the boss of the market. If we create work, he'll buy. If we don't, he won't buy, and the manufacturer won't manufacture."

TO WHOM will the $50 to $100 billion dollars' worth of government owned property go? Who will decide? There exists, for instance, a ready market for tools in Soviet Russia, and for consumers' goods throughout Europe. What will become of aircraft is being discussed now by Assistant Secretary of State A. A. Berle in the London conferences. The only rumor that has leaked out of these conferences is that we may trade airplanes for landing rights in foreign countries.

Then there is the huge question of shipping. Here is an example of the danger of concentrating too much on postwar problems, the danger that as we approach the most crucial stage of the war, the invasion of Europe, we may relax or grow complacent about the war in thinking of the postwar world. Even now American shipowners are making efforts to break away from the United Nations shipping pool and strike out for themselves. British shipowners, in a less advantageous position, are just as anxious to hang onto the pool. The CIO maritime unions, to insure a gradual, not a sudden or a premature relaxation of controls, which would be harmful to the war effort and would provoke chaos later, propose international agreements now.



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**"He cut himself and the blood was red!"**

They suggest preliminary agreements limiting tonnage quotas, maintaining the present rate structure, limiting subsidization by various governments to true cost essentials, and setting a universal minimum wage scale to eliminate present disparities between ships of different countries. These, with lowered tariffs, would increase world trade greatly on the basis of the political agreements of the Moscow, Cairo, and Teheran conferences.

There are constructive ways of thinking in postwar terms—the Treasury reveals that discussions on foreign trade and currency stabilization have been under way with the Soviet Union, and British oil men have just arrived for discussions. On the other hand, shipbuilder Henry Kaiser's proposal that firms begin taking orders now for peacetime consumption would fritter away valuable manpower in filling order sheets.

Legislative Representative Russ Nixon of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, points out that there is danger that labor, as well as industry, can get its eye off the ball—the winning of the war—in too great concern over postwar problems. The UE is among the unions which has been hardest hit by cutbacks. Cutbacks are a serious problem. There is even a secret government agency report that unemployment may reach one million by the end of the year. But we should think first in terms of opening a second front and an all-out war effort, says Nixon. And in making a sharp protest to the War Department on the cutbacks effective April 1 in the small arms industry, where 41,300 men were released, Nixon made it on the basis of injury to the war effort. No provision has been made for using the men and plants released, he said, in spite of a still tight allover labor supply. Not military changes alone but bad planning, too, was responsible, he said. His letter and Undersecretary of War Robert Patterson's reply were sent to every branch of the Army, and followed by a new Army statement of policy which, if carried out, will insure more consideration of labor supply, manpower, and the utilization of facilities.

BOTH the Baruch-Hancock report and the bill introduced by Sen. Harley M. Kilgore of West Virginia make clear that the first thing to consider in the approach to reconversion is the present need for full war production. Before an orderly and scheduled transfer of even a few plants to essential civilian production can be considered, military needs must be given right of way. Plants must be available for standby purposes, too, as once converted they would be useless for emergency war needs.

As long ago as last June bills were introduced in Congress on contract termination and other problems related to reconversion from a war to a postwar economy. Since then there have been a variety of congressional hearings and debates over legislation. At present there are twenty-eight bills in the House alone dealing with disposal of surplus property. Yet the Baruch-Hancock report and the Kilgore bill (S 1823) are the first documents to show any extensive appreciation of the issues outside the need to pay war industry what the government owes it.

The Kilgore bill would treat workers and service men and women alike. For two years after the war those registered with the US Employment Service could get jobs or benefits ranging from twenty dollars to thirty-five dollars a week, according to the number of dependents. Education and placement training will be free to both. It would provide funds to pay their transportation to their former homes or to take available jobs elsewhere. Representatives of labor, industry, and agriculture would be part of a National Production-Employment Board to outline policy. The same groups, together with consumers' representatives, would advise with each war agency which, under the bill, would dispose of surplus property, all property of a kind going to a single agency. The measure proposes procedures for the disposal to prevent dislocation of markets, strengthen the position of small business and open the way for increasing foreign markets. Priorities would be given to the Bureau of the Budget, which could transfer property from one to another agency needing it, to the Smaller War Plants Corp. and to the Foreign Economic Administration.

Hearings on the bill and on related legislation are under way in the military affairs subcommittee headed by Sen. James E. Murray of Montana. It was generally agreed by the committee and by the George Postwar Economic Policy and Planning Committee that legislation on contract termination would be considered first. However, Senator Murray has said that he regards the problems of contract termination and reconversion as a single whole, and that the subcommittee would consider the entire problem, including the human side. The Murray-George bill (S 1718), revised and limited to provisions for war contract termination only, may be quickly reported out, although Murray still may ask amendments.

To date the AFL Postwar Planning Committee in endorsing the Kilgore bill is in advance of the similar CIO body, headed by Clinton Golden. The CIO committee is expected to endorse it in fact if not in name in the near future, however. Certainly there is opportunity for labor to get behind the bill in unified support and contribute to the solution of postwar problems if narrow views are avoided.



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# THE MIGHTY HORMONES

**By WILLIAM RUDD**

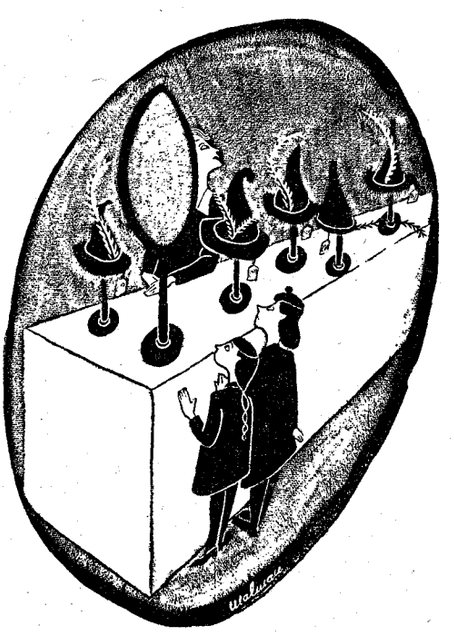
LET us discuss the *hormones*. You must have already heard about them. They are here and they are here to stay. They are muscling in on the territory of the vitamins with a vim and vigor of their own. They are so potent that the poor little vitamins pale with fear and into insignificance when they are confronted with the exploits of the mighty hormones. These exploits have been accumulating during the last two decades and make a fascinating story of progress and revolution in physiological, medical, and even sociological outlooks.

A trio of the hormones have been known by name for quite some time, namely adrenaline, thyroid substance, and insulin. There is hardly a layman who has not heard of the control of diabetes by insulin, the regulation of obesity by thyroid substance, and the revival of stopped hearts by adrenaline. No vitamin could be quite so spectacular, except when administered to extremely battered individuals dying of pellagra or beri-beri or scurvy, or staggering from almost complete blindness. Moreover, the hormones are active in fantastically small doses. They do not exhaust the alphabet, but they are many—well over a score by some counts—and all are so urgently essential.

What is a hormone? A hormone is a chemical substance, destined to have powerful effects on the body, which is elaborated first in the so-called *ductless glands* or *endocrines*, and then sent on to other organs or tissues, thus starting a chain of momentous events. Hormones are *messengers* and *regulators* at the same time. As messengers they wake certain tissues into action or supply them with a missing link for action, or, perhaps, keep them well by some special service. As regulators they may soothe as well as stimulate by both direct and indirect action, cunningly adjusting for the stability of the entire system. They are in the service of the entire body at the same time that they serve special tissues, and serve the dialectical function of maintaining a "unity of the opposites" in our bodies and furnishing the critical increment at which there is the "transformation of quantity into quality."

The "ductless" glands are a special group of glands, which may even have ducts. Regardless of this oddity in naming, these are usually listed as: the salivary glands, the tear glands, the pineal gland, the thymus, the pituitary, the thyroid glands, the parathyroid glands, the suprarenals, the pancreas, and the gonads. But one might add also the placenta, the heart tissues, the stomach, the intestine, and the liver, because they too elaborate harmones.

The names of the hormones have not all reached the general public. The term "thyroxin" covers the hormone of the thyroid substance. Like several others of the hormones, it has been identified chemically and has been synthesized. It can be made by the pound. A trace, however, is sufficient to change a tadpole into a frog way ahead of schedule. The hormone of the parathyroid glands is called parathormone and regulates the blood calcium, usually by raising it. The suprarenal glands, or the adrenals, secrete adrenaline and also corticosterone, a hormone which counteracts fatigue. The gonads, i.e., the testes and the ovaries, secrete the male and female sex hormones, two very effective and potent trios. The islets of Langerhans of the pancreas secrete insulin, so necessary for the combustion of sugars. But most important is the master gland, the *pituitary* or the *hypophysis*, which secretes a score of hormones itself. This tiny organ, located in a groove at the base of the brain and weighing but a fiftieth of an ounce, consists of three parts (anterior, intermediate, and posterior) which secrete different hormones. The anterior part alone secretes the *thyrotropic hormone*, which stimulates the thyroid glands to secrete their hormone; the *parathyrotropic hormone*, which stimulates the parathyroid glands; the *adrenotropic hormone*, which stimulates the adrenal glands; the *pancreatropic hormone*, which stimulates the pancreas to secrete insulin; FSH, which stands for "follicle stimulating hormone," which stimulates the formation of sex cells (sperm or ova); LH or luteinizing hormone, which stimulates the burst follicles or envelopes of ova (eggs) to become corpora lutea or "yellow bodies" which grow in the uterus; APL or anterior pituitary-like hormone, so named because it was originally placed only in the placenta, a hormone which appears in the urine in excessive amounts in pregnancy and thus serves as a sign of pregnancy in the now famous Aschheim-Zondek test; a pair of hormones, together called the *diabetogenic hormone*, which raises blood sugar in opposition to insulin; the *growth hormone* (you might have seen the name Antuitrin-G, where G stands for growth), which prevents people from being dwarfs and may, when in excess, produce gigantism or acromegaly, a disease characterized by the excessive development of the skeleton and the bones of the head; and, last but not least, *prolactin*, which promotes the secretion of milk and the tender behavior of motherhood. That, mind you, is the contribution of but one lobe of the master gland.



THE hormones which will call for the greatest attention in the coming boom will be the sex hormones. The ova or eggs, stimulated by the gonadotropic hormone of the anterior pituitary, secrete the female sex hormone, which we usually uncover as a trio of very active substances, *estrone*, *estradiol*, and *estriol*, and a few very mildly active substances as well (hippulin, equilin, equilenin). These substances are described as "estrogenic" or producing "estrus" or heat in animals. Castrate a female rat (the process is called "spaying") and inject under its skin a minute amount of an estrogenic substance (a millionth of a gram) and within forty-eight hours the rat will show vaginal bleeding and signs of cell changes analogous to human menstruation. The reaction is specific, unmistakeable. Analogous tests have been devised for animals by the use of male sex hormones. They also constitute a trio of powerful substances, elaborated by the testes, called *testosterone*, *androsterone*, and *dehydroisoandrosterone*. All these have been synthesized in the laboratory by the pound. Rival, purely synthetic compounds, resembling these in structure but weaker in action, have been made. They work and their reaction is also specific, unmistakeable.

WITH the pure hormones, especially estrone on the one hand and testosterone on the other, scientists have been able to track sex to its origins, to understand the workings of sex in its primary



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aspects and in its secondary characteristics, or the superficial differences between male and female with respect to hair growth, depth of voice, body contours, etc., and to treat various disbalances and diseases of sex origin.

Sex has been shown to be present even when there is no sexual reproduction, as in the case of unicellular organisms. Unfortunately, although there are only two kinds of sex stuff, biologists have stumbled on as many as *eight sexes* in these tiny creatures. What's worse, (or better) you can start off, it seems, as one sex by heredity and wind up as another by environment. Something of both sexes remains unresolved in every individual. In the case of oysters, several changes of sex in a lifetime are routine. Many "male" birds have been found showing an ovary, uterus, and other female parts in the left testis. Even human beings have been found in such a plight. In such cases a surgeon could decide the future sex of the individual very easily, without regard to the original genetic or hereditary makeup. Were he to remove the left testis, the patient would be male; were he to remove the right testis, the patient would be female. The sex hormones can exercise such potent effects.

The most important ill, attributable to a lack of sex hormones, is that tragic condition known as the menopause or "change of life." Its symptoms, nervousness, "hot flashes," and even insanity, are removed almost magically by the administration of the estrogenic substances. This bit of therapy has been the main spur toward the formation of a twenty-million-dollar business in sex hormones. The source of the female sex hormone, incidentally, is the urine of pregnant mares and stallions. The stallion, dialectically, produces even more female sex hormone than the pregnant mare, which does about 100 times as well as a non-pregnant mare. The stallion, of course, also secretes an overbalance of male hormones, and thus stays stallion.

Any difficulty due to a lack of sex hormones, both in male and female, is rather promptly cleared up. Menstrual difficulties, undeveloped breasts, difficulties after operations, horrible itches have yielded to hormone therapy. In the male the symptoms and the cures are more vague, but they are very clear when undescended testes are made to come down, puberty is accelerated, eunochism is partly reversed.

Most interesting are the recent findings of equivalences as well as antagonisms between the sex hormones. The male sex hormones are being used in female therapy and vice versa. A startling instance of a beneficial opposition is the use of *female* sex hormones to reverse the *male* disease of cancer of the prostate. The results are still new but apparently very sound. The test-tube has become a powerful ally of the pituitary.

# READERS' FORUM

## Santayana Defended

TO NEW MASSES: The textual shearing of George Santayana's works by Joel Bradford in his search for passages to prove the former a fascist displays nothing else but the character of a monomaniacal erudition. Your editorial unfairness to Corliss Lamont in swamping his letter, written in a moment of anguish, by giving to Joel Bradford and Howard Selsam the cumulative power of three times the space is manifestly unsportsmanlike. If you are to give your readers a symposium on George Santayana, don't give them a hastily written letter by Corliss Lamont and an article made up of excerpts by Bradford and another communication by Howard Selsam done up in epistolary brevity. Your symposium on George Santayana does not serve the cause of philosophical scholarship, which your readers should expect and which you should want to offer to your public. Your magazine is not alone in this matter of book review followed by epistolary dispute. All the so-called liberal weeklies indulge in this kind of heat without light. However, I do not remember any weekly clothing such a dispute with the honorific term of a "symposium" as you do. Right on the cover of your magazine it says, "Symposium." I purchased a copy thinking that I would get a sound and thoroughgoing discussion on the life and work of Santayana; but instead, I got letters.

At any rate permit me to add to the heat: When our era is vanished and the good society will have been established on this earth—the human society—George Santayana will be read and loved as the purest spiritual delight.

MARTIN WOLFSON.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

## Communists and the Negro

*In our March 28 issue we published a symposium of the views of Negro leaders on the relations between Communists and the Negro people. The symposium was occasioned by an article in our February 15 issue by New York City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., replying to an editorial in the "Herald Tribune" which had charged Communists with inciting Negroes to "unreason, lawlessness, and violence." The comments of the Negro leaders were in reply to five questions which* NEW MASSES *asked them:*

*1. From your own experience and knowledge do you think there is any validity in the charge that Communists incite Negroes to "unreason, lawlessness, and violence"?*

*2. What in your opinion has been the character of Communist activity among the Negro people, particularly in relation to the war effort?*

*3. What criticisms, if any, would you make of this activity?*

*4. What are the causes of unrest among the Negro people which sometimes, as in the Harlem outbreak of last August 1, assumes lawless forms?*

*5. Do you think there ought to be cooperation between Communists and non-Communists, both black and white, in order to strengthen the war effort and eliminate the discriminatory practices that deny the Negro people full citizenship rights?*

*The replies of Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Jr., editor of the "People's Voice," arrived too late for inclusion in the symposium. They are published below. Mr. Powell recently received the Democratic nomination for Congress in the Twenty-second district, Manhattan.—The Editors.*

TO NEW MASSES:

1. The Communists do not incite Negroes to "unreason, lawlessness and violence." The goal of the Communist Party, as I see it, is one of unity and to win the war with the minimum friction.

2. The answer to this question may be found in No. 1.

3. No criticism.

4. The causes of unrest among Negro people are as follows: (a) Jim Crow in the armed forces. (b) Brutality towards men in the armed services on the part of civilians. (c) Exclusion of Negro women from the US Navy Nurses Corps, the WAVES, the SPARS, and Marines. (d) The dissolution of Negro combat units. (e) "The Tax on being black"—higher prices for foodstuffs, rent, life insurance, etc. (f) Exclusion from AFL unions. (g) Doubt concerning the postwar status of darker races throughout the world.

5. I believe in cooperation between all groups whose purpose is a full and rich democracy, for all people.

A. CLAYTON POWELL, JR.

New York.

## Did You Know Will Rogers?

TO NEW MASSES:

I am editing the anecdotes of Will Rogers and will be happy to hear from all readers of NEW MASSES who may have stories about the humorist.

CYRIL CLEMENS.

International Mark Twain Society
Webster Groves, Mo.

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# NM SPOTLIGHT

## Unneutral Neutrals

THE so-called neutrals have had a wonderfully gay time working both sides of the street. But the game is fast coming to a close. Our stiffening attitude as described by Secretary Hull, and Mr. Stettinius' negotiations in London have already resulted in putting before Sweden the choice of whether she is to stump for a Nazi or an Allied victory. Stockholm has managed to perpetuate many myths about itself. The leading one has been that Sweden's heart belongs to the democracies—but her ball bearings to the Axis. Last August, after carefully scanning the battlefields, the Swedish government decided that the Allies would come out on top. To win Allied favor she discontinued granting transit privileges to Nazi troops. It was a belated step and a relatively meaningless one, which in no way compensated for her reprehensible record in the war. She continues supplying Berlin with iron ore eventually used against our troops. At one point the Nazis got about forty percent of Sweden's exports, consisting in large part of ball bearings, alloys, and machinery. An additional forty-five percent of Swedish commodities went to German-occupied Europe. All these exports have served German industry, helping to keep it going at a time when Allied aviation has been trying to reduce its output. Stockholm holds to the opinion that the Allies are going to win anyway, so its help to Hitler does not matter much. That such aid protracts the war and costs the Allies greater numbers of soldiers—who are also defending Swedish independence—is something which the middle-way opportunists refuse to understand. Perhaps they will understand it better when Allied measures are taken against them to stop their trading with the enemy. Putting pressure on Sweden will serve as an example to Portugal and Turkey that they cannot remain indifferent as to where their chrome and wolfram go, or continue to be nests of fascist espionage, as in the case of Eire.

But much more than pressure will have to be used against Franco Spain. A few days ago we were again shown that Madrid is not only a source of Berlin's supplies, not only a center of anti-democratic conspiracies, but actually the last Nazi outpost in Europe through which Hitler hopes to retrieve something from the impending crash. *Arriba*, the Falangist newspaper, and the Valladolid radio besought Washington and London to join with Hitler in a war against the Soviet Union. These are not the words of a neutral, but the exhortations of a spiritual and ideological satellite of the Nazis. Franco is as firm a fascist as Hitler. He knows that when Hitler's ship goes under he will go with it. And so he calls for a negotiated peace, for an attack against the USSR. These are the only means by which he can save himself from the mounting wrath of the Spanish people.

Mr. Hull was shocked when he heard that the Falangists were urging an end to hostilities in order to free the west for combat with Moscow. Any person, he emphasized, who originated that thought, much less the suggestion, must have been conscious of the infamy of what he was doing. Infamy it is. But our moral position is weakened when the State Department consents to participate in the international trade fair in Barcelona next June. The logic of Mr. Hull's condemnation of the Falangists calls for withdrawal from the fair. But more, it calls for a showdown with Madrid to help Spain destroy its fetters. Measures short of that goal, measures to "reform" Franco, will give the Falange a longer lease on life jeopardizing both our military plans and decreasing the effectiveness of our hard work to undo the Franquist intrigue in Latin America.

## Italy Unites

ALTHOUGH the political news from Italy up to the time we write is incomplete, the overshadowing fact is the progress made towards a broadening of the government following the resignation of the Badoglio cabinet. Victor Emmanuel has agreed to retire the day Rome falls, turning over authority to his son Humbert as lieutenant-general of the realm. Five parties of the six comprising the National Front's executive council have consented to enter an overhauled cabinet. It would seem at this writing that the Action Party is having a hard time deciding whether it intends to go along. Count Sforza, who has been a leading Actionist, is ready to assume a ministerial post and perhaps before many days pass the Action Party will overide its disrupters, notably Alberto Cianca, and swim along in the great tide to bring Italy fully into the war. Thus the stalemate of Italian politics is being surely resolved. Sad of course is the fact that the formation of a coalition government did not take place sooner. Lack of experience on the part of British and Americans in dealing with such problems, a residue of particularist opinions which have sought to impose ideas incompatible with speedy victory, the misadventures of the AMG, failure to coordinate the work of the various Allied commissions, factionalism—all these created a state of affairs harmful to our military enterprise. But with a fresh understanding of what unity entails, coupled with the undeniable desire of the Allies to fulfill the Moscow Declaration, a new chapter will be written in Italian history.

In this country Luigi Antonini, one of David Dubinsky's talented disciples in the black art of Communist baiting, threatens the President with defeat in the elections if our government countenances the participation of Communists in the Italian cabinet. Bourbon that Antonini is, he never learns and never forgets. There was an election in New York recently where Antonini made the same threats, none of which had any effect on the American Labor Party voters. Now he is trying to repeat for Italy what failed so miserably at home. Not only do we doubt that more than eight Italians abroad ever heard of Antonini, but Italians here have on more than one occasion repudiated his brazen stupidities. Antonini is all for an Italian government run in the same fashion as that by which he rules his needle trades local—dictatorially. But Mussolini is gone and no one will tolerate the smaller fry, for all their Social-Democratic camouflage.

## Turn for the Worse?

TREMENDOUS pressure is being exerted upon the American government to abandon its policy of refusing recognition to the fascist junta controlling Argentina. The pressure comes from several directions: perhaps the most serious is that from the British Foreign Office. There is increasing evidence, unfortunately, that British officials, in this instance representing the interests of a reactionary section of British capital, adopt the same blind Munich policy toward the Argentine fascists they once did toward Hitler. Another source of pressure comes from certain Latin American nations whose fear of Argentina threatens to overcome their confidence in the United States' long-term policies. Their worrying over the outcome of the forthcoming presidential elections, their lack of confidence in the durability of American support of a firm policy of international coalition, make them hesitate longer to defy their powerful and much closer neighbor, Argentina.

These pressures are exerted at a time



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when the dominant forces in the State Department are striving to develop foreign policies consistent with the principles and purposes announced by Mr. Hull. The turn from fumbling uncertainty toward Latin America which characterized our conduct of hemispheric affairs as late as last June when the Ramirez coup was precipitately recognized has only recently been made. That the change has been made is proved by our firm attitude against the Bolivian coup and against the recent palace revolts in Buenos Aires. We have discarded something that was inadequate, often bad. Have we simultaneously adopted a new line which can be dignified by the term "policy"? The answer is that we are constructing a policy slowly, but so far we certainly do not have one fully suited to the hemisphere's urgent democratic demands.

The blame lies partly with the apathy of the American public toward these vital Latin American questions. This is fed by the reluctance of certain liberals (often exhibited in the columns of *PM*) to recognize and support the positive things Mr. Hull and the State Department are trying to do. There is still far too much fighting of yesterday's battles. Whatever the explanation, this is the time when the most vigorous possible support must be given the Secretary of State in his stand against the Peron-Farrell clique. Widespread public support will not only help him withstand the pressures being exerted in the direction of appeasement, but it will to some extent reassure the wavering Latin American nations that North Americans will stand by them in a democratic coalition.

## Warning from Mexico

THE attempted assassination of President Avila Camacho of Mexico was certainly not an isolated incident happily terminated by the quick action of the President himself in disarming his assailant. This is only a symptom of a most dangerous situation that has developed not only in Mexico but throughout Latin America. We refer to the fascist fifth column which, under the aegis of Hitler and Franco and in alliance with indigenous fascists, has grown to large proportions. In Argentina, Bolivia, and Paraguay the fascists actually hold power. In other countries, such as Mexico, the Axis-oriented organizations present a definite threat to democratic governments.

In Mexico the fifth column takes the organizational form of Sinarquism, numbering many thousands in membership. They exploit all the fears and hardships of the people for their own evil purposes. The serious economic difficulties of the Mexican people are grist to the Axis mill. The Sinarquists employ any and all devices to gain their ends, their favorite one being to hide their treachery under the cloak of the Catholic Church. Anti-Camacho propaganda, slander of the United States, hatred of democracy and of the war effort of the United Nations, paeans to the false god of Hispanidad, brutality, terrorism, ignorance —these are the sinews of Sinarquism.

Apart from the fact that the democratic world failed to rise up against fascism until its poisonous seed was well planted and in many quarters flourishing, other factors have operated to keep the danger ever present. In Mexico—and this is not untypical of other western hemisphere countries—even after war against the Axis was declared, progressive forces within the country, including the government itself, failed to take sufficiently vigorous measures to wipe out the fifth column. Progressives, often even labor, moreover, by not taking the initiative in economic and social questions left the field open by default. The Sinarquists took full advantage of the situation and thereby gained a mass following, which found no other place to turn to. Another important element in the difficulty was the inability or unwillingness of the United States to provide machines and manufactures to Mexico and other countries, a measure which would have gone a long way toward preventing the deterioration of their economies.

In Mexico today, however, we see indications of a much more vigorous effort by labor and the government. The Sinarquists no longer have the field by default. In their desperation, caused by the strengthening of progressive forces within the country and the weakening of the Axis abroad, they increasingly resort to acts of terrorism, like the attempt to assissinate Camacho. The time is ripe for a strong frontal attack on Sinarquism and all other forms of the fifth column. Those of us north of the Rio Grande can play an important role in supporting the democratic elements of Mexico by meeting as many of their urgent problems on industrialization as the war effort permits. More than that, we can take steps to see that our Embassy in Mexico takes a more clear-cut line than it has so for evidenced in the support of democratic Mexican forces.

## The MacArthur Letters

THE exchange of letters between Gen. Douglas MacArthur and Rep. A. L. Miller of Nebraska serves to clear the air in two respects: it removes all doubt that General MacArthur is a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, and it gives unmistakable proof that he seeks that nomination on a platform of reactionary obstructionism, if not outright defeatism. The conclusion is unavoidable that the fact that the supporters of General MacArthur's candidacy are the most truculent America Firsters, that he is supported by the Chicago *Tribune*, is no coincidence, but a faithful reflection of his own political outlook. Nor is the matter improved by the general's belated attempt to dissociate himself from the embarrassing implications of ... words. The MacArthur-Miller correspondence also places in a new light the admission of Gen. Robert E. Wood, former head of the America First Committee, that while on an official mission last year for the Air Service Command he conferred twice with MacArthur in Australia.

It is unimportant whether these letters have been made public with or without the General's knowledge. What is important is that he declares that "I do unreservedly agree with the complete wisdom and statesmanship" of a letter from Representative Miller which attacks home-front restrictions necessary to win the war, and that he describes as "scholarly" another letter which accuses the Commander-in-Chief of establishing a "monarchy" and criticizes the fundamental war strategy of concentrating the major forces for the defeat of Hitler. So conservative a commentator as David Lawrence asserts that General MacArthur's letters are "a violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of War Department regulations recently announced by the Secretary of War concerning the political activities of members of the armed services." One wonders whether they are not even more serious than that: whether they do not border on military insubordination.

General MacArthur is no doubt familiar with the career of another prominent American military leader who challenged his Commander-in-Chief and sought to replace him by exploiting wartime difficulties after a fashion not so different from that approved in MacArthur's letters. Perhaps he fancies he will succeed in 1944 where in 1864 McClellan failed. But the immediate question is whether the political activities of Douglas MacArthur have not already seriously impaired the military usefulness of Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

## Unity for November

WHEN the gavel struck at the last state committee meeting of the American Labor Party it ushered in a new era in the life of that organization. It spelled the end of cliqueism. Gone were the men restricted by purblind prejudices—their places were taken by new blood, by New Yorkers who represented every strata associated with the ALP: liberals as well as trade-unionists and farmers—win-the-war partisans instead of partisans of factional strife. The choice of Sidney Hillman as chairman of the leading body which truly represented all the members (instead of a clique that spoke the words of David Dubinsky) was a momentous event. It put a crimp in the hopes of the Dewey crowd who yearned for division in the ranks of those who seek a fourth term for President Roosevelt. A resolution urging FDR to run again was adopted unanimously, without ifs and buts.

The vigor of the new leadership was manifest in its immediate reaction to domestic issues of prime significance: the reso-



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lution urging the revision of the Little Steel formula bespoke the feeling in the hearts of millions of Americans. The former ALP leadership characteristically skirted all issues of national importance.

The character of this state committee, its unalterable resolve to draft and reelect Roosevelt, coupled with a similar resolution by the state Democratic committee is bad augury for the Hooverite in Albany: good omen for those who realize that indefatigable effort, under the above circumstances, will spell victory in November.

## Call for '44

ALL the New York newspapers, with the exception of the *Daily Worker*, tried hard to miss the point of what happened at the meeting of the New York Democratic State Committee the other day. The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution calling for President Roosevelt's continued leadership in war and in peace, and unanimously relected James A. Farley as state chairman. Farley, as is well known, had for months been working quietly in various parts of the country to prevent the President's renomination. It is evident, however, that being a canny politician, he has been reading the signs of the times rather than the editorials of the New York *Daily News* and the Chicago *Tribune*. The collapse of the Woodring anti-fourth term movement and of the "secessionist" putsch in the South has not been lost on him. Nor has the rising chorus of fourth-term endorsements by labor unions, state Democratic organizations and prominent individuals. It was no longer a question of which way New York Democrats would go, but of whether Farley would go along with them or choose to stand in futile isolation. It is of course technically true that he has not yet taken a stand on the fourth-term issue. But the organization that he heads has, and that is the political platform on which he continues to lead it.

The ending of the rift in the New York Democratic organization is a welcome development whose impact will be felt nationally. We hope Farley will place his country's welfare above all past or present differences and work actively for the nomination and reelection of President Roosevelt.

## Progress by Law

THE predominantly progressive temper of the Supreme Court has once more been forcefully expressed in two important decisions, one involving interpretation of the National Labor Relations Act and the other a twenty-five-year-old Florida peonage law. In the first case the court, speaking through Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone, ruled seven to two that an employer, who had recognized a union as the bargaining agent, could not thereafter alienate workers from the union by negotiating with them individually and then refuse to recognize the union on the ground it no longer represented a majority of the workers. The issue in this case was so clearcut that it is surprising to find the dissenting opinion written by Justice Wiley Rutledge, who frequently is aligned with the most liberal members of the court. His fellow-dissenter was the court's arch-conservative, Justice Owen J. Roberts.

The seven-to-two ruling in the Florida case has far-reaching implications because southern peonage laws have notoriously been used to terrorize and oppress Negroes, as well as poor whites. Coming on the heels of the Supreme Court's action in outlawing the Texas white primary, this decision marks a further advance in the battle for Negro rights. The case involved a Negro laborer, Emanuel Pollock, who agreed to work off five dollars advanced to him by an employer and then failed to do so. On pleading guilty, he was sentenced to sixty days in jail because he was unable to pay the $100 fine imposed on him. The Supreme Court opinion, written by Justice Robert H. Jackson, held that under the Thirteenth Amendment fraud cannot be punished by peonage and the state "may not directly or indirectly command involuntary servitude, even if it was voluntarily contracted for." This decision, if generally enforced, should help break down the pernicious practice of binding sharecroppers to their landlords for life by chains of debt.

## Two for Freedom

BACK home they came from opposite sides of the tracks, but the deaths of Lieut. Peter Lehman and Pvt. Henry Forbes are symbolic of rich man and poor man united in the interests of their country's freedom. Lieutenant Lehman, son of New York's former governor, was a flier. Hank Forbes was a foot soldier. Young Lehman worked for a firm of investment bankers and Hank was an automobile mechanic who became a distinguished figure in the Communist Party. Both had kids. Hank never got a chance to see his youngster, born shortly after he went across to Italy.

We didn't know young Lehman, but we knew Hank Forbes well. He was a breezy, fighting Irishman with a head as tough as his heart was soft. There were no two ways about Hank. He always knew where he stood. He was an anti-fascist from away back. And in New York County where Hank was head of the Communist Party they will tell you how he pulled the unemployed together in the early 'thirties and made it one of the best fighting outfits in the state. Even the hard-bitten Tammany boys admired him, and when he moved out to western Pennsylvania as Communist district leader, the miners and the steel workers—no mean judges of men—took Hank to their bosoms.

Hank had a way about him. He was awfully good to look at. Handsome, strapping, and a battler, if ever there was one, against petty minds, the evil doers, the political pussyfooters. Hank loved his party as it loved him. And it hurts deep inside to know that Hank won't be around any more. He died on the Anzio beachhead. He died for a cause in which he deeply believed. There are lots of people mourning Hank, but Hank would have told them to forget it and to pitch in all the harder where he left off.

To his wife and young son, as to Mrs. Peter Lehman and the governor's family, we offer heartfelt condolences.

## With Justice for All

IT IS more difficult to convict a man of rape in United States courts than of any other charge—unless it is in the South and the accused is a Negro. Then courts and law may be ignored and the white supremacists administer their own sort of medieval justice.

Yet in our Army courts martial it apparently is a very easy thing to convict a soldier of rape—if he is a Negro. It is less easy to make the sentence stick in the face of widespread protest. The various Judges Advocate and boards of review which have had the case before them of Frank Fisher Jr. and Edward R. Lowry who were sentenced to life imprisonment in New Caledonia, do not admit that they had anything but a fair trial. They found the record "legally sufficient to support the findings and sentences," in the words of Undersecretary of War Robert P. Patterson. But, the Undersecretary explains in concluding a four-page statement on their case, the defendants' plea of clemency was granted and their sentences reduced—because of their youth, because they were left orphans at an early age, and because "they did not have the advantage of family background and training." It would be interesting to know the background of some of the men who sat in judgment on Fisher and Lowry and whether they were subjected to Rankinese at an early age.

Rep. Vito Marcantonio, president of the International Labor Defense, who with former Judge William Hastie is acting as counsel for the two soldiers, justifiably calls the reduction in sentences (to ten and eight years) a victory. It also indicates that the whole case against them was a fraud, he says, and adds: "In my opinion it represents a compromise between forces of unity in the War Department and the intransigence of prejudiced southern white supremacy officers." The appeal for clemency will be taken directly to the President, and the ILD means to stick by the men until they are free and fully exonerated.

Marcantonio declares the "rape" was a commercial transaction with a prostitute, who, the evidence shows, was paid by the

(*Continued on page* 22)



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## FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

# LIGHTNING IN THE CRIMEA

THE ink had hardly dried on Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin's piece in the New York *Times* on how the Germans were going to hang on to the Crimea when the Fourth Ukrainian Army Group under Tolbukhin struck simultaneously at the two gateways to the peninsula—Perekop and Chongar (across the Sivash lagoon, or sea), and General Yeremenko's Special Maritime Army struck at Kerch. The offensive for the liberation of the Crimea began on April 10. Next day the junction of Dzhankoi and the fortress town of Kerch had been captured. Six days later Tolbukhin stood three miles from Sevastopol and Yeremenko between Alushta and Yalta (captured April 16). Thus both generals had covered approximately 120 miles as the crow flies in six days, i.e., considerably more in terms of tactical movements. One advance by Soviet tank formations reached the hitherto unprecedented speed of forty-three miles in twenty-four hours.

The basic plan of the Crimean campaign consisted in thrusting with lightning speed at the junction of Dzhankoi, blocking the railroad communications between the German groups around Feodosia and Sevastopol, and then striking at the ports of Feodosia, Yevpatoria, and Yalta so as to force the enemy to concentrate his evacuation attempts in one port—Sevastopol—where the Black Sea Fleet and the Soviet Air Force could devote their entire attention to the business of frustrating such attempts. Dzhankoi was captured on April 11, and the ports of Yevpatoria and Feodosia were taken on the thirteenth at the same time as the central command and communications center of Simferopol. The enemy at this writing is herded into Sevastopol. Soviet guns from the hills and from the sea pound the port, which is also being attacked by dive-bombers and torpedo speed-boats.

By April 14, the operation in the Crimea had netted 37,000 enemy officers and men captured and an almost like number killed. The Crimean campaign, which will probably be over by the time these lines reach the reader, will have lasted slightly more than a week. Even if the Germans should attempt to hold out in Sevastopol for a few days, it will mean nothing to them but more slaughter. The issue is a foregone conclusion with the heights surrounding the fortress port already in Soviet hands.

Aside from the hitherto unmatched tempo of the offensive, General Tolbukhin's campaign is characterized by the quick and irresistible storming of highly fortified bottleneck positions such as those at Armyansk and Yushun, south of Perekop and near the causeways across the Sivash lagoon. The same can be said of General Yeremenko's attacks on the positions the Germans had built across the narrow isthmus east of Feodosia. Here the Red Army could not comfortably maneuver and had to storm the defenses head on. The quick success of the attacks is a measure of the overwhelming striking power of Soviet artillery as well as of that old reliable, the infantry. The pursuit of the enemy across the north and central Crimean plain was effected by tanks and cavalry at first, but soon the tempo became too fast even for the Cossacks, and tanks apparently had to carry on alone, paced by dive-bombers and Stormoviks.

An interesting auxiliary operation was the heavy air raid on Constanta in Rumania, which would have been the logical port for the landing of enemy troops evacuated from the Crimea. Thus the Soviet Air Force blocked both ends of the enemy's inglorious trail—at the port of exit and at the port of entry.

Meanwhile General Malinovsky, commander of the Third Ukrainian Front, after having captured Odessa on April 10, pressed the fleeing Germans and Rumanians to the Dniester and on April 13 captured Ovidiopol, thus cutting the train ferry service into Bessarabia and Rumania.

Between March 25, when the march on Odessa itself began, and April 12, General Malinovsky destroyed 26,800 enemy troops and captured 10,700 officers and men. Thus the Germans lost more than 37,000 men, not counting the wounded they carried off, 443 tanks and self-propelled guns, 952 field pieces, and 11,708 motor vehicles.

While these momentous operations were going on in the Crimea and on the lower Dniester River, Marshal Zhukov captured the important German stronghold of Tarnopol (April 15) after a siege of a little over three weeks. This opens the way for a campaign to capture Lvov, which after the fall of Tarnopol is protected only by the secondary strongpoints of Brody, Krasne, Zolochev, and Berezhany (Brzezany). At Tarnopol 16,000 Germans were killed and only 2,500 captured, in contrast with the fighting in the Crimea where there were more enemy taken prisoner than killed (this was possibly due to a liberal admixture of Rumanian troops).

It seems that Zhukov has again sealed the so-called Skala pocket after the Germans had broken the ring of encirclement and helped some of their divisions escape. In any case it does seem that whatever is left west of Skala cannot present a serious danger to Marshal Zhukov's flank any more.

During the past week Marshal Konev has stabbed deeper into Rumania and has captured the rail junction of Pashkany, thus outflanking Yassy from the west. However, it may be said that the Rumanian front has been taking a slight breather, the communiques failing to mention it for four days, except to say that between March 6 and April 15, 118,000 Germans had been killed and 27,000 captured on this front.

THE Allied air forces based in Italy have made several attacks on Budapest, Bucharest, Ploesti, Sofia, and Turnu-Severin. These attacks were partly aimed at the German communications in the rear of the Rumanian front (we say "partly" because some of the blows were directed at plane factories and other industrial objectives).

Allied air forces have also given some assistance to Marshal Tito by bombing Zagreb, Brod, Nish, Split, and other Yugoslav points. In connection with Marshal Tito's activities, it is interesting and most surprising to note that some of his Partisan units (apparently not the regulars) are entrenched in the Fruska Hills which command the stretch of the Danube between Belgrade and Novi Sad, upstream from the capital of Yugoslavia. Here the Partisans are about 280 miles from Marshal Zhukov's vanguards in the Eastern Carpathians. Generally speaking it may be said that Marshal Tito, while fighting a bitter and up to now successful action against the Germans around his central stronghold of Jaice, is thrusting toward the periphery, especially in western Serbia. If he could only be reinforced sufficiently to carry through to the Danube and cut that important artery of communications, the German front in Rumania would be weakened considerably.

IN THE Far East things are both good and bad. Our bombers have been striking relentless blows at most of the Jap-



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anese bases and positions from the Kuriles to New Guinea. The Marshalls, Carolines, Solomons, including Ponape, Jaluit, Truk, and Rabaul have been pounded, and there are reasons to believe that an amphibious assault on Truk is not too far distant.

However, things in Manipur have been going worse than the sugar-coated news from India has given the public to understand. The coating is so thick that a group of British correspondents have refused to file dispatches unless the pressure of censorship is lifted. In fact the Japanese have isolated Imphal and have cut the road between Kohima and Dinapur. Thus the situation, in spite of General Stilwell's successes in the Myitkyina sector, continues menacing.

## AROUND THE WORLD

# THE FRENCH COMMUNISTS

*Algiers (by radio)*

THE entrance of two Communists into the French Committee of National Liberation, the provisional government of the French Republic, is an historic event. This participation is significant not only because it is the first time that the Communist Party has had responsibility in sharing the power of the state but also because it has happened at a crucial time for France. In fact it is during the next weeks that the fate of the French nation will be decided.

France has always played a key role in the world. The question is whether France by her own struggle alongside the United Nations will see a future of democracy and independence guaranteed for decades to come or whether France, because of inertia and the action of fifth column agents, will see herself reduced to a second-rate power, which will make things easier for international fascism. There is no middle way. Facing this dramatic situation, the Communist Party, whose sole objective is the complete destruction of Hitlerism and the revival of the interests of France, has taken the only possible decision. It has acted under instructions of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party now in France. Communist participation in the committee is an act to save the motherland and to help the unification of all French forces.

This act could have been performed earlier—in November 1943. The Communist Party is not responsible for its not having participated earlier in the government. As early as October 1943, we followed the instructions received directly from France to obtain posts in the cabinet. Our program of unity in action and our war program had received the approval of General De Gaulle. On Nov. 18, 1943, we issued a written statement on our negotiations with De Gaulle and sent it to the Algerian press. Unhappily secret coalitions of sordid interests, the same interests which drove France to disaster and then through treason, profited from the defeat, maneuvered under cover, and for the time being sabotaged all efforts at French unity. Four long months were lost, months which benefitted Hitler and the Vichyites.

At last on April 4, 1944, two Communists, after two days of conversation with General De Gaulle, entered the government. These two Communists, Francois Billoux and Fernand Grenier, did not enter as individuals. They entered under a formal order of the Communist Party's Central Committee. This is in keeping with the most elementary democratic rules. A real democracy supposes, in fact, the control of peoples' organizations over their representatives. This is all the more important and necessary because French parliamentary history has proved that individual autonomy often serves as a screen to mask the infiltration of evil interests into the workings of the Republic. Acting in the way it did, the responsibility of the whole Communist Party is involved. The result is a considerable strengthening of the French Committee of National Liberation, whose essential duty is to help France in the struggle by sending arms and ammunition to the patriots, to reinforce and unify the French Army, and to throw into the war all forces without exception on the side of the United Nations. In this way victory will be speeded.

FUTURO

WHAT the Communists bring by their participation in the provisional government is considerable. They bring first, an extremely clear view of the means necessary for the liberation of the country; second, a patriotic conception of national unity. The conditions of liberation are the following: to help national resistance, so essential to the Allies, by the extension and reinforcement of all efforts directed against the enemy—women's demonstrations against food shortages, strikes in the coal mines, refusal of the peasants to collaborate, to the most audacious armed action. This requires immediate action. To wait is criminal, because it facilitates enemy operations and disperses the fighting forces in France.

The Communist conception of national unity has been expressed magnificently by a manifesto of the twenty groups comprising the Parisian Committee of National Liberation. Their only aim is action to free the motherland. This approach galvanizes all energies despite differences of opinion. But a question can be asked at this point. Does the entrance of the Communists into the Committee of National Liberation make it a government of real national unity representing French resistance? To this question we answer frankly and categorically—no. We have reasons to answer negatively. In fact a simple comparison between the National Committee of French Resistance inside France and of the Parisian Committee of Liberation as against the composition of the French Committee of National Liberation at Algiers shows that Communist participation in the cabinet is only a reflection of the national unity realized a long time ago in France. You can judge for yourself. The Parisian Committee of Liberation is composed as follows: The groups which have a decisive voice in that committee are the trade unions of the Parisian area, the French Confederation of Christian Workers, the National Front, the Partisans and Snipers, Workers Organi-



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zations, the Union of French Women, French Aid, Liberation, Resistance, Liberation of the Northern Areas, the United Forces of Patriotic Youth, Those of the Resistance, Defense of France, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Radical Socialist Party, the Democratic Christians, the Democratic Alliance, the Socialist Republican Union. The following groups have a consultative voice: the Lawyers Association, the School of Medicine, the University, the Institute.

The French Committee of National Liberation at Algiers does not include the Confederation of Labor (CGT), the most important workers' organization in France, whose members comprised ninety-seven percent of all those shot by the Vichyites and the Nazis. The committee at Algiers does not include representatives of the National Front, the most important organization of French resistance, which controls the army of *Franc Tireurs* and Partisans, and includes as many men and women as the regular French Army. Nor does the Algiers committee include representatives of the United Forces of Patriotic Youth. And notice that I have not spoken until now of the inadequate representation of the Communist Party on the Algiers committee. Its representation, as I have already said, consists of two Communists. This is not at all in conformity with the Communist Party's powerful influence and immense sacrifices.

The provisional government is a step towards the realization of national unity. But only when the Algiers committee includes representatives of the CGT, the National Front, and the United Forces of Patriotic Youth will it be a real government of national unity and will genuinely express the sentiment and will of those French men and women who fight in France. This is a problem of French domestic policy which will be solved by the French themselves struggling for national independence. Nevertheless, after all is said and despite the weaknesses pointed out—which we hope will disappear soon—the participation of the Communists in the cabinet strengthens the committee considerably, both in domestic and foreign policy. The cries and exhortations of Goebbels and Vichy propaganda prove that the entrance of the Communists into the provisional government must be considered an excellent anti-Hitler move and a step forward towards the realization of national unity in Algiers. The entrance of the Communists in the government will speed national resistance and will help the invasion of France, which will take place soon, by the valiant Anglo-American troops.

We have to be careful not to make two mistakes in estimating the importance of Communist participation: first, to think that the entrance of the Communists into the committee will make all the obstacles and difficulties created by disguised or open Hitlerites disappear automatically; second, to think, considering the force and power of the agents of the fifth column and partisans of a new Darlanism, that all will be well because national unity is achieved. As I have indicated, complete national unity has not been achieved. We must see things as they are. We must continually do everything in our power to insist on the application of republican and democratic principles so dear to the French people, to insist on the separation of civil authority from military authority in conformity with the French tradition, to insist on the unification of the anti-Hitler army, and to insist on the complete unification of all patriotic forces regardless of philosophical or religious differences.

Recent debates in the French Committee of National Liberation on the reorganization of the committee are proof of the need for what I have just been discussing. We note in passing that the Communists would like to see the establishment of a commissariat for national defence and also that the Commander-in-Chief coordinate the action of all French troops in different fields of battle. We must underscore that in April 1944, the fifth column was unable to prevent the entrance of the Communists into the provisional government as it did in November 1943. This is a positive fact. It is a guarantee that work and progress are possible towards the reinforcement of the struggle alongside the Allies and of the reinforcement of the democratic regime under the control of the people.

We Communists, faithful to the appeal made at the beginning of July 1940, by Maurice Thorez, secretary of the Communist Party, and Jacques Duclos, member of the political bureau, and confirmed on May 15, 1941, are giving all our energies for complete unity of the French nation in order to carry out the program desired by all Frenchmen—the liberation of the territory of France from the invader, punishment of the traitors, and assurance to the French people that they can choose their own government based on a more perfect and wider democracy.

FLORIMOND BONTE.

*M. Bonte is the editor of "Liberte," Communist deputy from the Seine, and a member of the French Consultative Assembly.*

## With Justice for All

(*Continued from page* 19)

soldiers. In the Patterson statement there is no quarrel with this description of the "victim." But, he says, "counsel ignores the well-established rule of law that the unchastity of the victim is no defense in a rape case." According to this theory, any prostitute could go into court and say she really hadn't consented, even though she had taken payment, and accuse a man of rape. Or she could hold this over him as a threat and indulge in successful blackmail. Undersecretary Patterson no doubt believed what he said: "Both Fisher and Lowry are Negroes. There is not the slightest evidence that that fact in any way affected the outcome of their trials." We wish we could share that opinion.

## Paul Robeson

MERE words seem feeble and faltering when it comes to describing the mass meeting last Sunday that celebrated the forty-sixth birthday of Paul Robeson. Arranged by the Council on African Affairs, it was a full-hearted tribute to a great artist, a great American, a great son of the Negro people—a tribute flooding out from men and women of all walks of life in every part of America. The eight thousand persons, Negro and white, who shoehorned their way into the Seventeenth Regiment Armory, New York—thousands more were turned back—were only a tiny fraction of the numberless legions in many countries who have been stirred by the art, the personality, the simple grandeur of spirit of this man whose father was born a slave and who has grown to an international symbol of the struggles and aspirations of the common man.

Robeson's place in American life as a unique embodiment of national unity was indicated by the character of the speakers and entertainers who participated in the evening—Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Dr. Max Yergan, Donald Ogden Stewart, Joseph Curran, Jose Ferrer, Uta Hagen, Howard Da Silva, Councilman Benjamin Davis, Jr., Anna May Wong, Jimmy Durante, Zero Mostel, Duke Ellington, Count Basie, Teddy Wilson, Hazel Scott, Pearl Primus, Josh White—and by the scores of greetings that came by mail or wire from such figures as Vice Pres. Henry Wallace, Thomas W. Lamont, Sidney Hillman, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Newbold Morris, R. J. Thomas, Harry Bridges, Theodore Dreiser, Marc Connelly, Helen Hayes, Pearl S. Buck, Edward G. Robinson, Rev. Henry Sloane Coffin, Walter Damrosch, Dr. Karl T. Compton, Babe Ruth, Benny Leonard, Sgt. Barney Ross, Lou Little, etc.

And Robeson's own contribution to the evening, when at last he stood on the platform in all his physical magnificence, his eyes filling with tears, and sang as he has rarely sung before, and spoke as one would speak to a friend across the table: of his childhood and the groping years of his youth and of how his own art and his dreams merged with the art and the dreams of the peoples of the many lands he visited, of his pride in being an American and a Negro, of America and Africa and of the free world to come—who that was there will ever forget it?

And so once again, happy birthday and long life to Paul Robeson, whom we are proud to number among the contributing editors of NEW MASSES.



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# LITERATURE DOWN UNDER

## By GEORGE FARWELL

*Mr. Farwell is a prominent young short story writer and a member of the staff of the Tribune, organ of the Australian Communist Party.*

*Sydney, Australia.*

IN WHATEVER direction the shadow of fascism leans, it creates conditions entirely opposed to those at which it aims, calling up fresh reserves of popular strength and will. Australia has been no exception.

The rising national consciousness brought about by the threat of Japanese invasion back in 1942 has not reached the consistency achieved in, say, Yugoslavia or China, for the actual battle has been kept away from our shores. Nonetheless there does exist a pride in things Australian, an independence such as we have not known since the nineties—the great creative period of our history. For reasons I shall go into later, the artist as yet has not properly reflected this dialectical change. Still there is today a more widespread interest in the arts than there has been for many years.

It is impossible to understand Australian culture without referring back to the decade which began with 1890. That year saw an upsurge of popular feeling which severed for all time the dependence of the people upon the "mother country." Hostility to colonial domination on the part of the rapidly integrating nation of "bush" workers, miners, small selectors, and petty capitalists found expression in republican agitation, a popular demand for socialism, and a series of nationwide strikes spread over an electrifying four-year period. The strikes were crushed by a parade of soldiery and antiquated laws, but out of the ferment arose the Labor Party, then bearing a Socialist imprint, the sturdy trade union movement, and a national literature.

This new Australian sentiment was crystallized in the militant poetry of Henry Lawson, Bernard O'Dowd, Francis Adams, and E. J. Brady; in the novels of Joseph Furphy, William Lane and Miles Franklin (who later worked with the American socialist movement and was on the staff of the original *M·sses*). Today these writers, stripped of their revolutionary ideas, are still regarded as pioneers of our literary tradition, which has grown somewhat liverish with the years. Katharine Susannah Prichard alone bases her work upon the principles of social realism.

"The basic literary tradition," writes our shrewd American observer, C. Hartley Grattan, in *Introducing Australia*, "is a compound of sound learning, rebelliousness, ardent faith in the common man, and an even more ardent faith in the Australian future."

This represented the temper of several of our best writers right up to the war, though timid publishers and an artificially restricted market denied them a wide circulation. With the spread of the war to the Pacific, literary activity was chopped off short. The war effort placed a tremendous strain on our small population; most of our writers are to be found in the armed forces, on the production front, or doing propaganda work of some kind or other. Again, there has been an acute paper shortage, until today one leading publishing house has a list of ninety titles, many of them Australian, awaiting print. This, however, does not prevent the haphazard publication of English best-sellers, regardless of their application to Australia.

When a locally written book does appear, it is swallowed up like a lost hat in a crowded thoroughfare, so lively is the demand. There is everywhere a new interest in Australian history and tradition; an interest which has to remain unsatisfied. Not a single work by an Australian, living or dead, with a local or an international reputation, is to be bought anywhere, not even in the second-hand book stores.

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But, like desert plants that adapt themselves to drought conditions, authors have hardened themselves to this lack of recognition for which official and educational circles must take the blame, and not the general public. The migration of our intellectuals since the last war has been one of Australia's tragedies—scientists, technical men, Rhodes scholars, musicians, artists, and writers of the caliber of Christina Stead to the United States; and Jack Lindsay, Martin Mills, Helen Simpson—to name only a few—to England.

The wonder is that such a high literary standard has been achieved. For the moment I need only point to that robustious —if somewhat emotional and confused— novel *Capricornia* by Xavier Herbert, which has won so big a sale in America.

SO MUCH for the bleaker side. Several of our most accomplished writers are getting to work again; a number of important books, though not dealing specifically with contemporary themes, have been published. Some writers have turned to historical themes; notably Eleanor Dark, the annalist of the Australian middle class, in her study of the early clash of white and aboriginal cultures, *The Timeless Land*, and Ernestine Hill with *My Love Must Wait*, the life-story of the explorer Mathew Flinders. Both of these have gone into American editions and give a workable, if conventional, picture of our past.

Leonard Mann, a man of solid democratic values, recalls the grim depression days, whose scars are by no means forgotten, in *The Go-Getter;* Kylie Tennant, attempting a study of the semi-nomadic bush workers of the same period with *The Battlers*, has won a reputation her work scarcely deserves. Failing to understand the characters she obviously drew from life, she has squandered magnificent material, and she fails to draw any social conclusions. In her latest book, *Ride On, Stranger*, she unfortunately attempts such conclusions, the result being a malicious and bohemian travesty of the left movement. (I mention these two novels, for they have both been printed in the United States, and need to be approached with some caution.)

The future, as she sees it in the middle of this war of liberation, is expressed thus: "Every city will be a great, living, humming machine, and the humans in it will be



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crawling about its entrails . . . they will be frightened and uneasy, unless they are with a crowd of fellow bacteria. . . ." This mood is echoed by several petty hot-house "intellectual" magazines, whose refined sexuality and surrealist verse happily prevent their being widely read. To combat this trend the labor movement is beginning to interest itself in cultural matters in an organized way for the first time since the nineties. In those far-off days shearers, swagmen, and miners could quote the national poets up and down the country.

At its Thirteenth National Congress last year the Communist Party determined on a campaign to raise the people's cultural standards. Trade unions and their journals, shop committees, constructional camps are beginning to concern themselves with questions of art. Two hundred exhibitions of original paintings are planned for workshops, pit-tops, army and constructional camps; symphony concerts and recitals are finding more and more soldiers and workers in their audiences; lecturers on all manner of cultural subjects are in demand.

How much of this is due to the spontaneous awakening of the people under the stress of war, how much to increasing cultural facilities, how much to a planned campaign it is difficult to say. At all events progressive art is beginning to be a real force; a potential force as yet, but one that will strengthen in direct ratio with the rising political consciousness of the working class.

In the literary field the need is for publications which will organize new creative ability, signs of which have already appeared in the anti-fascist periodical *Australian New Writing*. A recent production front short story competition run by the Fellowship of Australian Writers discovered a brilliant writer in John Morison, a Melbourne wharf laborer, whose writing has a quality reminiscent of Maxim Gorky. The setting up of a Writers Club among the soldiers in New Guinea is one pointer to the creative spirit arising in the armed forces.

It is significant that the closer you go to the front lines, the more enthusiasm is shown for the excellent work of the Army Education Service, which runs lectures, courses, and debates on every conceivable subject. Short stories, poetry, and other literary works are beginning to find their way back from the armed forces. Several books of soldiers' verse have been published; the Army magazine *Salt*, the government controlled Australian Broadcasting Commission, *Australian New Writing*, and a few other periodicals are featuring the work of soldiers.

If the majority of the established writers have failed to understand the issues of the war—some write as if it does not even exist—several have recently published short stories which acknowledge the new political understanding of the people. Others again are devoting themselves to factual reporting, speaking at Aid Russia and labor rallies or taking a hand in pamphleteering, which became an important morale weapon in the earlier stage of the war.

However, it is becoming clear that a postwar literary revival will depend largely upon support given by the labor movement. Because until an independent war effort

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became essential, Australian industry was fairly undeveloped—and with it, naturally, science and technique in general—labor has found it necessary to take on many jobs which the governing groups have done in other countries.

Not least of these jobs will be the development of literature to the socially conscious level it once achieved under the powerful and militant impetus of labor in the nineties.

## China Vignettes

SHARK'S FINS AND MILLET, *by Ilona Ralf Sues, Little Brown. $3.*

Miss Sues' book is not a documented history of China's struggle for the twin goals of democracy and national unity in the war against Japanese fascism. It does not pretend to be. It is rather a record of the personal experiences and observations of an acutely sensitive and intelligent woman who through a combination of chance and design saw not only the flesh and bone but the heart and nervous system of China during the critical years, 1936-40. Miss Sues has a better way of expressing it—from shark's fins to millet. That means everything from the wealthy feudal landowner, banker, and bureaucrat, to the common people.

If ever a systematically documented history of and program for China is written —and I hope it will be—people will read it in large part because writers like Ralf Sues have opened the subject for all eyes to see. Let me cite a few examples of the insight into Chinese personalities and affairs given by *Shark's Fins and Millet.*

Upon arriving in China Miss Sues remained for some time in Shanghai. Because of her previous experience in working for the League of Nations' Anti-Opium Information Bureau at Geneva it was impossible for her to escape the opium problem in that Far Eastern port where the French concession rivalled Cicero in Illinois for its hospitality to racketeers and gangsters. Chief among these was Tu Yueh-sen, the opium czar, who controlled not only the major rackets of the city, but also ran its trade unions through Chu Hsueh-fan (now in this country to represent Chinese labor at the forthcoming ILO meeting!). Tu sat on the Municipal Council, was president of several banks, owner of several industries, was chairman of hospitals and schools, and according to the 1936 edition of the *China Year Book* was a "well-known public welfare worker." This was at the time when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was promoting his Opium Suppression project. An attempt had been made to control the Shanghai situation through special police under T. V. Soong, but the police disappeared as quickly as they came, after some gunmen tried to assassinate Soong. Now Tu Yueh-sen, the top man of the dope ring, was appointed head of the Shanghai Opium Suppression Bureau! As Miss Sues says "We [in Geneva] did not know to what extent Chiang Kai-shek's hands had been tied."

In another example having to do with Chiang Kai-shek, Miss Sues retells the story of how, during the Sian Incident in which Chang Hsueh-liang had detained the Generalissimo in order to break through the tight circle of reactionaries who prevented him from contact with liberals, his own Minister of War, Ho Ying-chin, gave orders to bomb the area where he was being held. Ho and the reactionary clique "preferred a dead Generalissimo to a Generalissimo getting 'independent' and fighting Japan at the head of a whole united people."

Miss Sues notes that Chiang Kai-shek "was surrounded, and practically isolated from his people, by an iron ring of the most reactionary and pro-Japanese cabinet China had ever seen . . . the greatness and weakness in Generalissimo's character is his open mind; he can be convinced by any one who keeps on talking long enough. All Chinese politicians are aware of this, and every group maneuvers to have its best talkers nearest to the Generalissimo and to obtain the exclusive rights to the Strong Man's attention."

I have cited these particular passages because they point to one of the difficult problems of the war—the role of China's leader. Miss Sues' observations appeal to me as politically shrewd. The Generalissimo is a man of strength, he is capable of



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leading the Chinese people to victory and democracy. But he reacts almost exclusively to his immediate surroundings and so when those are markedly reactionary, as they are today and as they were in the period about which Miss Sues writes, the destiny of the nation is jeopardized. The political problem of the Chinese people is to destroy the influence of the Ho Ying-chin's and to replace them with forward-looking advocates of unity. The political task of China's allies in the war is to aid the Chinese people in accomplishing this objective speedily.

Miss Sues moved back up the Yangtze with the government as the Japanese attack spread. First Nanking, then Hankow. It was during this period that she had her extraordinary experiences with China's public relations organization—or better, lack of organization. This brought her into daily contact with W. H. Donald, that almost mythical figure who guided the Young Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang for several years and then became adviser to Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Donald and Madame Chiang were the "only two stormy petrels who, according to this cabinet (the reactionary group of Ho Ying-chin et al.), 'poisoned the Generalissimo's mind with foreign, democratic ideas.'" But even Donald and Madame Chiang had no contact with the seething democracy of the masses. Their theory was that "democracy" should be imposed upon the people from above. Madame Chiang, at best, disdains the common people and has an overbearing, authoritarian quality which is in sharp contrast with the character of her sister, Madame Sun Yat-sen. Madame Chiang represents the shark's fins, Madame Sun the millet.

In 1938 Ralf Sues went up into the guerrilla areas in Shansi and then to Yenan, the capital of the Border Region government and headquarters of the Communist Party. The seventy pages covering this trip give us a brilliant wealth of detail and impressions which go far to explain the heroic war effort, both in the military and political fields, that has come from the Northwest. Upon returning Miss Sues summarized her adventures as follows:

"Our trip had taught us an astounding thing: notwithstanding all statements to the contrary, the Chinese people were ripe for democracy. Given a chance, they understood and practiced it. In the Borderland, each citizen, man and woman, over eighteen, had the right to vote, and to elect most of the public functionaries. The people participated in the government. Taxes were imposed in accordance with a rational fixed schedule, and collected exclusively by the treasury, who accounted for the revenues and expenditures in public statements. All citizens were equal before the law. No one was jailed or punished without public trial. There was freedom of religion, freedom of speech and press, freedom of assembly. More, everybody had the right to free education and to free medical treatment. . . . The government did not oppose but encouraged and helped the establishment of rural and industrial cooperatives, of local defense corps, of racial and cultural groups. It furthered constructive initiative in every field . . . the people of the Borderland had a clear conception of their rights, their duties, and their goal: Resist the Enemy, Uphold the United Front, and Build a New Democratic China."

I suggest that the final five pages of *Shark's Fins and Millet* be required reading for all persons interested in advancing the cause of the United Nations, for there Miss Sues in a "Bird's-Eye View of China Today" draws the political conclusions from her extensive observation. She characterizes the nature of our ally's internal weaknesses, indicates by name some of the leading disrupters and defeatists, presents a program for national unity, and calls for a renewal of Chiang Kai-shek's leadership under the banner of democracy.

FREDERICK V. FIELD.

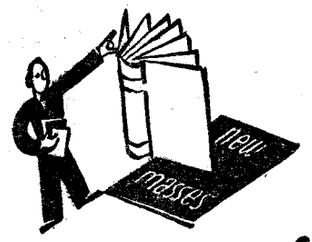
## Surrender to Fear

THE STEEP ASCENT, *by Anne Morrow Lindbergh. Harcourt, Brace. $2.*

THOUGH the psychoanalytic school of reviewing, which treated every book as a fragment of a case history, went out of fashion in the twenties, there are some books that belong so clearly to the literature of neurosis that to consider them as anything else would be to create a false emphasis. Admittedly, such a book was not Mrs. Lindbergh's aim. In her preface she speaks of writing a flying story and of trying to achieve expression of what T. S. Eliot calls "the point of intersection of the timeless with time." But the end product is merely a revelatory study of a somewhat unstable woman in an airplane.

The story could not be more simple. Eve Alcott is the American wife of a British flyer. Her husband, Gerald, has business to attend to in Egypt, and since she has been quite ill during her second pregnancy, she decides to fly out with him to the better climate of Egypt until it is time to return to England for the child's birth. On the first lap of their journey they fly straight over the Alps in winter, and then, radioless among the peaks on the Italian side, they run into an impenetrable fog bank as the night begins to come down. Gerald at last decides that the only thing to do is dive through, and they make it safely.

It is on this framework that Mrs. Lindbergh has erected her account of Eve's sensations and anxieties. They start with worries about whether a last cigarette has been put out and progress through a feeling that time is snapping at her heels, so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that a lost five minutes makes her feel guilty all day, to a propitiatory last look (but no second look) at their home from the air—all this to appease some doom she feels lying in wait for her and all well-known symptoms of underlying guilt and anxiety.

When they are in the air and she is free to let her mind take its own course, the nature of the neurosis becomes more apparent: Eve is one of the people for whom death has taken on an erotic quality, with the usual overtones of guilt, so that she is simultaneously fascinated and repelled by it. She yearns to lose herself in some as-yet-unrealized mystic "inner core" of life. And to complicate the whole thing still further, there is the physical fact of her husband's somewhat dangerous profession of flying (though he seems to regard it matter-of-factly enough): flying to Eve has become a project belonging to her husband and all that he represents, and an opportunity for death fantasies to take over her mind entirely. Indeed, on their way down through the fog, when a crash is extremely probable, Eve learns that she welcomes the idea, that she has never felt more alive, and that she has come to be unafraid.

This is not to say that Mrs. Lindbergh has written an hysterical book. Her prose is frequently controlled and rhythmic, in spite of a tendency to inject into the more poetic passages a slang phrase or extremely every-day sentence that breaks the otherwise admirable flow of words. Her comments, for instance, on the difference between the English and French countryside, are perceptive and intelligent. And she is sensitive to the sights, sounds, smells, textures of her world. It is probably the painfully acute sensitivity of the unstable personality, yet her impressions are vignettes in what otherwise would be an unrelieved story of a surrender to fear.

SALLY ALFORD.

## Histories of Slavocracy

BEHIND THE LINES IN THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY, *by Charles W. Ramsdell. Louisiana State University Press. $2.00.*

THE PLAIN PEOPLE OF THE CONFEDERACY, *by Bell I. Wiley. Louisiana State University Press. $1.50.*

FOR three basic reasons these books, especially Wiley's, mark an improvement over the general crop of works on Southern history. They show an awareness of the existence in the slavocracy of someone other than a mint-julep sipping Colonel; they acknowledge that there was a difference between the values and aims of that venerable gentleman and those of other Southern groups and classes; and they even betray a knowledge of the presence of positive opposition and independent action—political, agitational, and physical—on the part of the non-slaveholding whites and Negroes.

These books, too, add to the evidence piling up in recent years that the conventional explanation of how the Confederacy was crushed—the superior numbers and resources of the North—is woefully incomplete. They confirm the conviction of historians like Moore, Wesley, Lonn, Owsley, Shugg, Bettersworth, Wish, and others, that one must not overlook the Confederacy's internal situation if he desires to understand the causes for its disintegration.

However, the basic factor within Secessia that gave it its feet of clay, was its lack of popular support, and here the works under review fall down. Ramsdell stresses inflation (more a manifestation than a cause) and a scarcity of railroads and a lack of industry, which is merely the reverse of the conventional historical picture. These weaknesses were real and, incidentally, largely the result of the backward, semi-feudal character of the South's ruling class, but they were not decisive in the fall of the Confederacy. The decisive element, as Abraham Lincoln and Karl Marx and Edmund Ruffin, the theoretical leader of secession, saw, was the fact that the slavocrats maneuvered their state governments, *against the will of the vast majority of the Southern people,* into acts of treason against the most democratic Republic then existing.

Wiley is correct when he writes, "Long before the finale at Appomattox, the doom of the Confederacy had been firmly sealed by the widespread defection of her humblest subjects." But he would be completely correct had he seen and remarked that the Confederacy's fate was sealed by the character of its parents—money-bags and swords of slave-masters. The hollowness and rottenness of these sires assured the early death of the offspring.

Ruling cliques may declare war, but only a people can wage war and keep waging it against any odds. People fighting their own war do not clutter their leaders' desks with letters like those which plagued the rulers of the Confederacy: "Is this war to be carried on and the Government upheld at the expense of the Starvation of Women and Children?"; "the time has come that we the common people has to have bread or blood & we are bound boath men & women to hav it or die in the attempt." And they do not shout at the approach of the "enemy"—as did one-third of the population of the Confederacy:

*I free, I free*
*I free as a frog*
*I free till I fool*
*Glory Alleluia!*

nor do they repeat endlessly in a spasm of ecstasy, "Thank Gawd! Thank Gawd! Thank Gawd A'Mighty!"

Because neither author sees these fundamental facts about the Civil War, both are moved to speculate as to "its [the war's] usefulness." Ramsdell doubts that one can say "with conviction that this war accom-



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plished anything of lasting good" that could not or would not have come peacefully, and Wiley thinks all would have been well and no blood spilt "if only immoderates in North and South could have been restrained."

Neither writer understands the truly revolutionary character of the Civil War, its colossal progressive function in destroying a society based upon a species of private property that seemed all-devouring, and that, indeed, did threaten every democratic advance achieved by the American people. And is one not first to discover the enthusiasms of a man before denouncing his "immoderateness"? Of course war is immoderate, and those who wage it do so, if they are serious about the matter, "immoderately."

Nothing but the sword wielded savagely, and supported by every reactionary, liberty-hating clique and state, had any chance of ever maintaining or prolonging the life of a society based on human slavery. And nothing but a sword, wielded vigorously, and supported by every progressive element of humanity and upheld by every freedom-loving individual could parry the blow, crush its deliverer, and exorcise from the body of a great nation a cancer that for generations had been gnawing at its vitals.

Strange that in these "immoderate" days such plain facts need reiteration!

HERBERT APTHEKER.

## Brief Review

CRAZY WEATHER, *by Charles L. McNichols, MacMillan, $2.00.*

"CRAZY WEATHER" has certain ingredients that should make it a good story for older boys—western setting, Indian lore, the runaway, and the pursuit motifs. There is also a psychological interest to the novel that may push it up into the adult class. The adolescent hero is reluctant to identify himself with the white man's world to which he belongs by birth, but from which his environment has all but excluded him. During his adventures comes the crisis which forms the decision for him. Out of it his white heritage is surely confirmed, for the apparent sign that he has sloughed off his Indian ways is a suddenly developed shrewdness as a money-maker. However, there is no "propaganda" in the novel, and not much art. Its principal merit is a satisfactory handling of special materials (attractive perhaps because of their very remoteness)—authentic observation of Mojave customs, a wealth of detail drawn from an intimate knowledge of the region, and some very curious survivals, all but lost sight of, from an earlier day in the Southwest. Certain episodes (like the chapter on the Mormon-hater) alone make the novel worth reading: and the unifying conception does not mar its charm as a first-rate adventure story for boys of some sophistication.


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# FILMS OF THE WEEK

**By JOSEPH FOSTER**

THE time is a short while after the unconditional surrender of the Nazis. The *hackenkreuz* has been hauled down in all the occupied capitals of Europe, and in the prison docks of these countries stand the Nazi leaders, on trial for their crimes of murder, arson, rape, theft, and the whole bloody calendar of their evil deeds. In Poland the Gauleiter of a particular district is being given his lumps by a United Nations' jury of his superiors. So begins *None Shall Escape*, Columbia's dramatization of the Moscow Conference resolution to make the criminals pay. Since the theme is a tremendous one, the film wisely confines itself to one issue. The judge warns the jurors that with the defeat of the Nazis, there will now be requests for clemency. Many of the Nazi leaders were tools of a machine, carrying out orders against their will. Now that the machine has been smashed, these Nazis will become good boys. Such will be the tenor of the arguments in their behalf. The film scotches this argument effectively. It sets out to prove that the Nazi leaders had any number of opportunities to make a choice, that they failed to do so out of cowardice or brutality, and so are personally responsible for all of their acts.

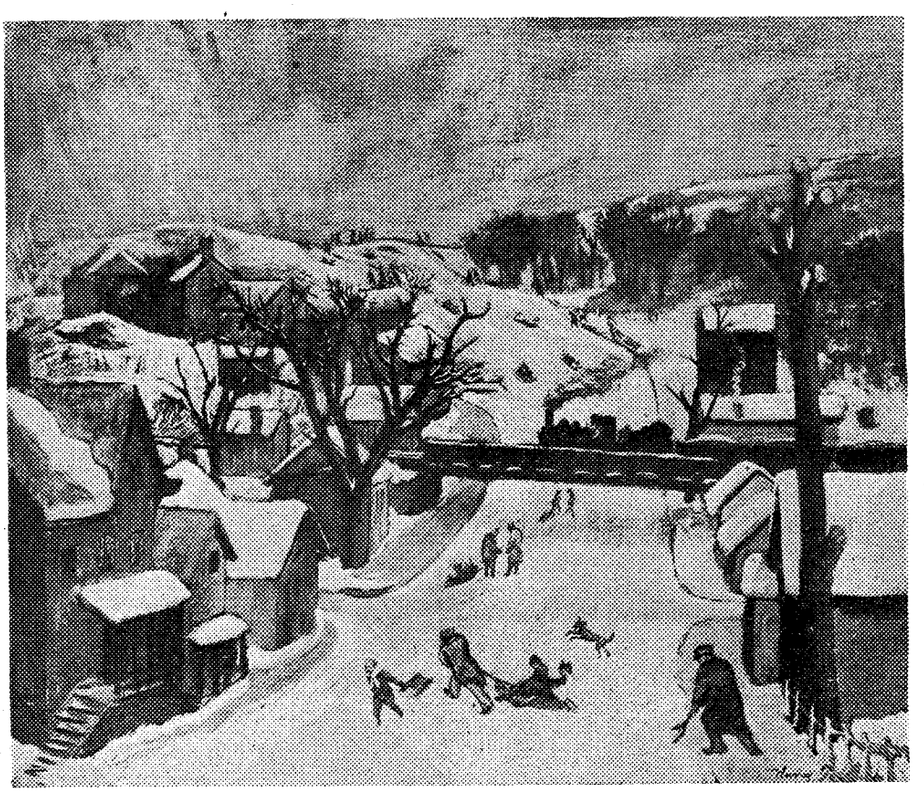
The story is pieced together by the testimony of witnesses, each of whom tells what he knows of the prisoner in a series of flashbacks. His sweetheart, his brother, his priest all help to put the rope around his neck. He is introduced to the audience as a rapist, a thief, a degenerate anti-democrat who sneers at the plans of the people as inferior babble, who regards the peasants and workers as idiots. He is driven from the small Polish village where he has lived as a schoolmaster and makes his way back to Germany. It is no surprise that, with this head start, he soon becomes a leader of the rising Nazi movement. He becomes adept in the debasement of German youth, in stifling all public opposition to the Nazi party. His character is beautifully developed. In fact the writers handle this part of the film with sound political acumen. There are references to the Reichstag Fire, to the inefficient Social-Democratic leadership, to the corrupt leaders of business who are financing Hitler and his vermin.

But the most spectacular incident in the career of the Nazi leader, an incident which alone justifies the making of the film, is that dealing with the Jews of the Polish village. The Nazi leader now in charge of all Western Poland, as a reward for his good work at the home base, begins to put Nazi theory into practice. He rounds up all the Jews and has them packed in boxcars for shipment out of the district. At the moment of departure, the Rabbi addresses his people. He calls upon them to fight. Submission has only earned for them an occasional dubious recess from pogroms, a moment of humiliating tolerance. If they are to be treated as free men, they must take their place with the other minorities and fight as they do. In a scene of grim realism, the Jews are shot down, including the Rabbi. With his last energy, to the eloquent accompaniment of blood washing over the cobbles of the streets, and sustained by the village priest, he intones the age-old prayer for the dead. Politically and dramatically it is the most effective moment of the film and one of the most moving.

There is one bad bit of portraiture that mars the punch of the film. The Gauleiter brings his nephew to Poland as his personal aide. The young Nazi falls for the daughter of his uncle's old sweetheart. He plays the part as a simpering moon calf, and the girl matches his interpretation with an equally inane one of her own. These characters ring so false, both to the general tone of the picture and to the others, that only the yearning for a routine love affair on the part of either the writers or the producer can explain their existence. Both characters could have been totally eliminated to the vast improvement of the film.

Be that as it may, the audience has a wonderful time. When the judge turns to the audience and asks for a verdict, from all over the house come cries of "Hang 'em," "Kill 'em," "Shoot 'em." At one point when the Nazi leader is impressing the Polish village elders with the strength of his military machine, he says, "We have taken Poland in three weeks, we will take Russia in six." The hoots, jeers, catcalls, and laughter that greeted the boast were right pleasant to hear.

With *None Shall Escape* Columbia Pic-



**"Edge of the Town," by Harry Gottlieb. Mr. Gottlieb's show, currently at the ACA, will be reviewed by Moses Soyer in next week's issue.**



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tures, valuably aided by writers Alfred Neuman, Joseph Than, Lester Cole, and Cameraman Lee Garms, scores the first points since *Sahara*.

"WE KILL," writes Ilya Ehrenburg, the Soviet correspondent, "only because we love life." If there are still some people for whom such sentiment constitutes a paradox, I urge them to hasten to the Stanley Theater to see *Ukraine in Flames*. An official record of liberation, the film is at once a tragic report of wanton destruction and a song of hope. As the Red Army storms back, city after city gives up its trenches of murdered civilians. Every survivor feels the depths of a grief that we can only partially realize. Yet in the very glare of the fires set by the retreating Nazis, Soviet citizens start building anew.

This film was planned by Alexander Dovzhenko, the gifted Soviet director, over a year and a half ago, even as the German armies were pushing westward toward Stalingrad. Thus while the Russians were still giving up territory, they had no doubt that it would not long remain in German hands. At first Dovzhenko, who in common with all his compatriots has an abiding love for his countryside, contrasts the ante-bellum republic with its present condition. From the Don to the Carpathians, the breadbasket of the Soviet Union is portrayed in all its opulence. Life is a harmony between the earth and the people who work upon it. Here, man is no enemy of nature but her favored son. Equipped with the latest technical aids, the farmers of the vast region are in a fair way to shatter all world figures for yield per unit of cultivation. The people sing and dance, and for gusto of living are reminiscent of the characters in the staged opening sequences of *North Star*. No wonder that sister republics called the region "the fair, the sunlit Ukraine."

Then, the Nazis—and a model of bountiful and dignified living becomes an endless shambles. The teeming land, equal to almost three times the total area of New England, becomes an unendurable charnel house, its buildings reduced to rubble, its gardens, parks, and fields laid waste. The camera keeps your attention riveted to scenes of indescribable horror. Here a mother, gripped by a boundless sorrow, finds the blackened body of her son. Now a guerrilla fighter discovers the mutilated remains of his wife. Again a Red Army-man describes how the Nazis set fire to a hospital full of wounded soldiers after locking all doors and windows. Each example of the invaders' bestial handiwork is more sickening than the next. From captured Nazi films, the fat, smug faces of Goering and his generals look out upon the audience with great glee. They are happy over the craftsmanship their armies have demonstrated in the Ukraine. They have the bearing of men who believe that their mastery is forever secure.

## Art Calendar

**ACA. 63 E. 57th St. Through April 22. Harry Gottlieb. Oils and watercolors. April 24 to May 13. Abraham Harriton. Paintings.**

**23 W. 26th St. Through April 27. Esteban Soriano. Watercolors, tiles, oils.**

**Associated American Artists. 711 Fifth Ave. Lily Harmon. Watercolors.**

**Downtown Gallery. 43 E. 51st St. Group Show.**

As Kursk, Kharkov, Cherkassov, Kiev, Shepetovka, Kherson, are wrested from the Nazis, as the Germans are driven back, you realize that the people have never lost heart. Shot after shot shows how they have retained their hope, kept their spirit at militant fever-point. As the Red Army troops march westward in pursuit of the enemy, a procession of people arising seemingly from nowhere moves in the opposite direction, armed with sickles, hoes, baskets of seed. Even with the bodies of the dead still on the fields, the seed is scattered over the ground, primitive fashion. As the towns are liberated, the people put aside their mourning, and face the problems of reconstruction.

Twenty-four cameramen have worked with Dovzhenko in the compilation of this film. Sound has been effectively used on the spot as well as in the laboratory. There are also animated maps to explain the main military action.

*Ukraine* is an excellent combination of military record and social document. "We hate," says Ehrenburg, "only because we want a world without brutality." The future historian, viewing this film, will understand why.

MY ARMY friends tell me that *See Here, Private Hargrove* is one of the few pictures of camp life even a little like the real GI article. In particular they refer to the well-made sequences on basic training, to the behavior of the acting corporal and his newly found importance, and to the KP routines.

As a civilian, my chief complaint is that the film is too much like a collegiate caper. The oh-so-boyish pranks belong, it seems to me, on a campus rather than in the Army barracks. In a military world whose inhabitants are not exactly noted for delicacy of expression, the dialogue is far too sweet and considerate—always excepting, of course, the traditional sergeant and the corporal who tries to outshine him. The producers muddy up the boys' uniforms with a fair degree of realism. The least one can expect is a little language to match. I can see some people holding their hands over their ears and making mumbling references to the censor. But most of the GI vocabulary—ways bearing in mind the elemental aspects of life—*can* be introduced in polite society, as for instance, the dialogue in Anderson's *Storm Operation*. I think a true picture of Army life should do for Army language what, say, *Ball of Fire* did for slang. It is not too much to ask that the given milieu of a supposedly realistic picture reflect some of the original's realism.

The picture has many moments of hilarity, but here too the humor is not based on Army routine. With the possible exception of the scene in which the acting corporal tries to lead a gun crew in battle maneuvers, most of the humor is based on contrived individual character. Hargrove's walking off with the general's greatcoat is funny, but no funnier, or more original, than our old friend the absent-minded professor walking off with a woman's overnight bag.

But aside from feeling that *Hargrove* is not a true reflection of Army life, you will find much in the picture to your liking. As sort of *Rover Boys in Khaki* Robert Walker and his buddies are an entertaining group, chiefly because of their fine, unselfconscious acting, and their general deportment, which prevents even the running gag of cleaning garbage cans from becoming slapstick. There is also recognition by one of the boys of the fact that the war is being fought for a purpose other than that of providing baritones with an opportunity to air their tonsils and profiles. One of them says that he can hardly wait to get his hands around a Nazi's neck. When Hargrove asks him if he has relatives in a concentration camp, he replies that he hasn't but he would like to kill a few Nazis for what they have done to the world. That, I believe, is a high peak of political self-consciousness for an American Army buck private who has not yet left a local camp.

"LOST ANGEL" is a virtuoso piece for Margaret O'Brien. It doesn't matter about the plot, which though amusing as an idea, becomes a bit far-fetched when worked out as a story. But you will get a bang out of little O'Brien's pert mannerisms, her intelligent response to direction, her growing bag of tricks. She cannot dance or sing the way Shirley Temple once did, but she works the profile with less pink-bow profusion.

As a lost angel, she is the ward of a group of desiccated scientists who want to make her a model brain child. At three she is reading Chinese, at four playing chess for relaxation, at five, working out Napoleon's campaigns. If you can accept all that as plausible, you will also believe that anyone in her place wouldn't break all the glassware or become a juvenile delinquent at the first given opportunity. However, while credulity still hangs on, she is rescued from her dread future by a reporter—and everybody, from theater usherette to the



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# Daily Worker Events

THE FILM DEPARTMENT OF THE DAILY WORKER
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EIGHT WEDNESDAY EVENINGS ☆ AT 8:30 P.M.

**May 3rd:** *The Colonial Period*
**Film: THE MAID OF SALEM**
With Claudette Colbert, Fred MacMurray
**Commentator: STEPHEN PEABODY**
*Research Worker in American History*

**May 10th:** *The Revolutionary War*
**Film: HOWARDS OF VIRGINIA**
With Cary Grant, Martha Scott
**Commentator: FRANCIS FRANKLIN**
*Author of "The Rise of the American Nation"*

**May 17th:** *The War of 1812*
**Film: THE BUCCANEER**
With Frederic March, Akim Tamiroff
**Commentator: DR. PHILIP FONER**
*Author of forthcoming "History of the American Labor Movement"*

**May 24th:** *The Civil War*
**Film: ABE LINCOLN IN ILLINOIS**
With Raymond Massey, Ruth Gordon
**Commentator A. B. MAGIL**
*Author of "Battle for America"; Editorial Board of New Masses*

**May 31st:** *The Winning of the West*
**Film: WELLS FARGO**
With Joel McCrea, Bob Burns
**Commentator: DR. HERBERT M. MORAIS**
*Author of forthcoming "Struggle for American Freedom"*

**June 7th:** *Industrial Development of the USA*
**Film: HIGH, WIDE AND HANDSOME**
With Irene Dunne, Randolph Scott
**Commentator: LOUIS BUDENZ**
*Managing Editor, Daily Worker*

**June 14th:** *The Crisis of 1929*
**Film: ONE THIRD OF A NATION**
With Sylvia Sydney, Leif Ericson
**Commentator: JOHN STUART**
*Co-author of "The Fat Years and the Lean"*

**June 21st:** *The Anti-Fascist War*
**Film: WAKE ISLAND**
With Brian Donlevy, MacDonald Carey
**Commentator: JOSEPH STAROBIN**
*Foreign Editor, The Daily Worker*

*Chairman*: DAVID PLATT, Film Editor, Daily Worker
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scientists themselves, is glad she is going to lead a happy and normal life.

But certain obnoxious characteristics that weren't obvious in her *Journey For Margaret*, are beginning to creep into Margaret O'Brien's equipment. The results of her elocution lessons stick out all over her speech. I for one cannot abide anyone who pronounces "goodby" as "good-bigh." But more distressing is the tendency to supplant spontaneity with artificial mannerisms, so that after a while such kids become perfect miniature adults.

## Hilarity and Whimsy

Two comedies opened within a week of each other having the same plot motivation: the man of the family secretly speculates every available asset and only the last minute intervention of the author saves him from disgrace and his dear ones from utter ruin. Both plays were written by highly competent screen writers; and both have no higher aim than to make money. However, here the resemblance ends: for their hearts do not beat as one and, indeed, their forms are as different as their ancestry.

*Chicken Every Sunday*, mid-wifed by the brothers Julius J. and Philip G. Epstein from Rosemary Taylor's best seller of the same name, is out of *Naked Genius* by *Life With Father*. In consequence, this offspring gamboling at the Henry Miller's Theater, is considerably over-peopled, full of circus characters and vaudeville turns having more relation to the box office than to the central story, in rare scenes touching and real, but for the most part raucous, bawdy, highly needled for laughs—and, rather tiring.

It is too bad that this should be so, for the story of the Blachmans is in actual fact an important and exciting saga of the part one family played in the pioneering and modernization of a Western city. However, the Epsteins chose to follow the pattern set by Mrs. Taylor's account of her parents, a pattern which disregards the solid features and emphasizes instead the cuteness, quaintness, neurosis, and lustiness of the many personalities involved. Lester Vail directing, the cast enters with gusto into the happy nut-house doings in Howard Bay's ample setting of the Blachmans' living room. And yet, out of all the feather-blowing, yodeling, nymphomania, and skunk-squirting, I was able to save only a few pleasing impressions: Mary Philips' portrait of that contradiction, the moneyless, southern aristocrat; Rhys Williams as her vigorous and scheming husband; and the all too few scenes between them in which they are permitted to appear as real people in a real relationship.

*But Not Goodbye*, established at the Forty-Eighth Street Theater by John Golden and Harry J. Brown, and delivered by George Seaton, is out of *Blithe*



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*Spirit* by *Peter Grimm*. Though it is neither so hilariously playful as Noel Coward's fantasy, nor so sentimental as its daddy, it yet manages to capture enough of the spirit of both to provide in reasonable measure a whimsically entertaining evening.

The fun starts after a wholly undramatic first act and depends largely on the supernatural efforts which the newly dead Sam Griggs and his long departed father make to force a realtor to pay the family off on a secret speculation he shared with Sam unknown to any other living being. The spirits of Sam and his father desperately deploy all through the action of the remaining members of the family as upon discovering they are penniless, each strives to sacrifice personal happiness for the sake of the others. All the characters in the play are likable and simply drawn and the play itself is throughout nicely true to its material, most especially so at the final surprise curtain.

The production, directed and designed by Richard Whorf, owes most of its gayety to the antic impersonation of the elder ghost by J. Pat O'Malley as he tries to wean his son, Harry Carey, from an earthbound interest in his family, to assist him in influencing the conscienceless broker to pay his just debt, and to break him in to the life of the happy dead. Carey seems to play himself, a solid, serious, awkward man, always believable, always interesting to watch. Seconding O'Malley's flexible playfulness is Elizabeth Patterson as Sam's wife, angular, humorous, and in moments displaying a touching emotional dignity. Frank Wilcox adds greatly to the occasion in the part of the realtor and old friend of the family who cannot quite bring himself to do the honest thing. The wholly secondary love story is agreeably provided by Sylvia Field as a very feminine librarian and by Howard Baker as an exasperatingly rational lover. All in all, if fooling is what you want, George Seaton's play is pleasant and moderately comic and worth an evening's time.

★

"ONLY THE HEART," which the American Actors' Theater has installed at the Bijou after running it for some time a year ago in its little theater downtown, is chiefly important for the strenuous workout it gives one of my favorite actresses, June Walker. However, though Miss Walker does all but bicycle across her living room, Horton Foote's play about a woman who is driving herself and those about her in a futile effort to conceal her emptiness of spirit is not sufficiently interesting for a Broadway showing. The characters are too drab and too obvious and the dialogue too often achieves an embarrassing audience reaction. Frederick Fox has contributed another of his season's settings which have a way of becoming increasingly distasteful as the evening wears on. HARRY TAYLOR.


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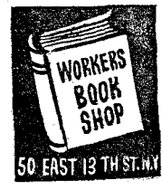

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